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THE INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART





THE INFLUENCES OF INDIAN ART

SIX PAPERS WRITTEN FOR THE SOCIETY
BY JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, J. PH. VOGEL,
H. F. E. VISSER, VICTOR GOLOUBEFF,
JOSEPH HACKIN, AND ANDREAS NELL

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY F. H. ANDREWS

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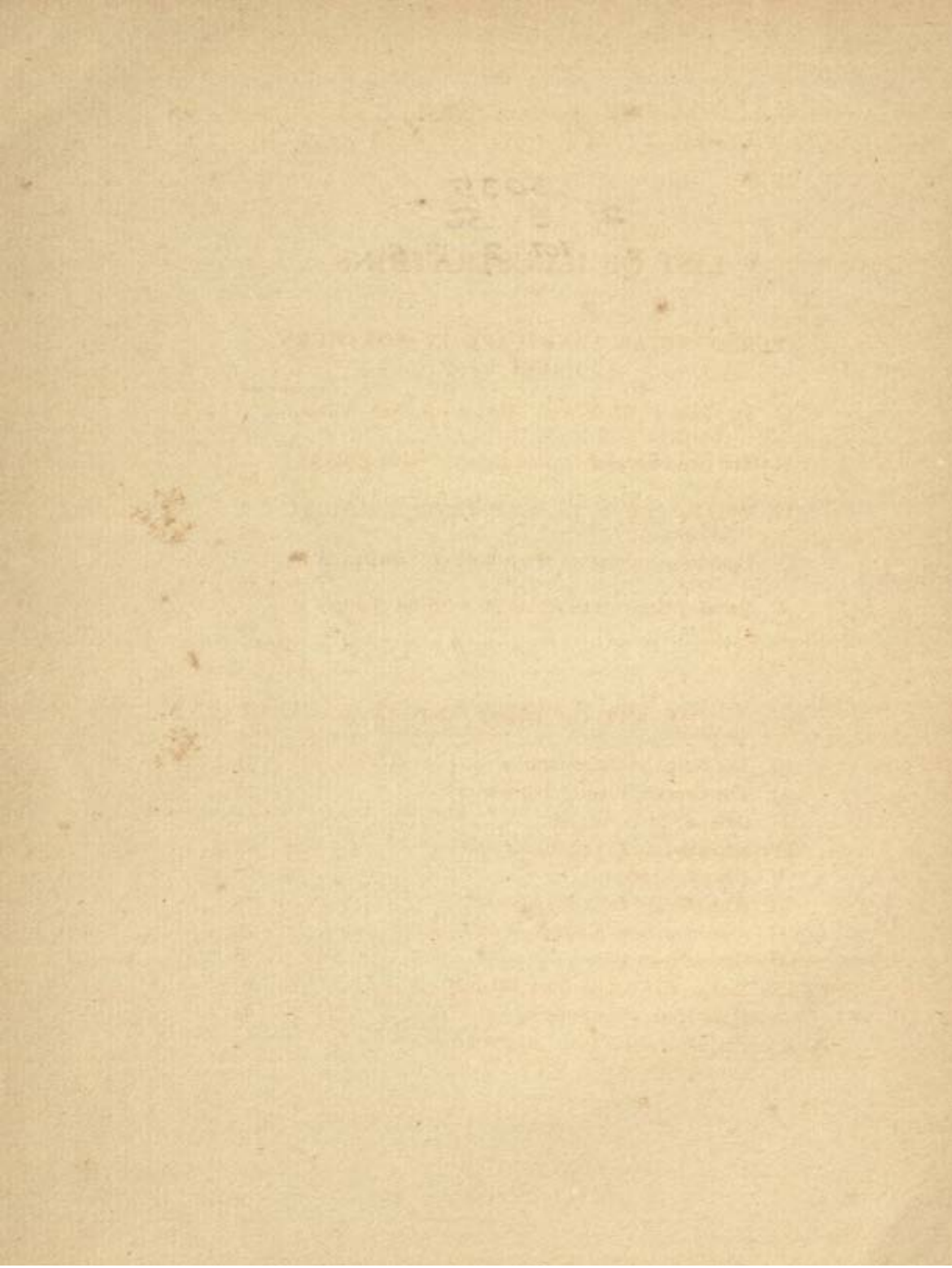
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INTRODUCTION

THE interchange of ornamental motifs between the peoples of the earth must have been in progress since man first consciously produced decorative forms, and it is a psychological truth that such borrowed motifs invariably became modified in the process of application by the borrower. The extension of such borrowing and modification is endless, and motifs frequently return to their earlier tracks extraordinarily transformed—sometimes almost beyond recognition.

The interchange of decorative forms between India and her neighbours has been as active as the same process in other parts of the world, and whatever of decoration India has adopted, evolved, or developed, she has endowed with something of her own essence before passing it on.

The geographical India of to-day includes the homes of numerous races whose ideals of Art, as of Religion, are far from being identical, and who, being in many cases immigrant even down to late historical times, have introduced foreign elements of decorative art, which, like the immigrants themselves, have become naturalized and have also acquired a local patina.

The papers now published indicate the bewildering complexity in which the subject of Indian influence on foreign countries is involved. They show also the great

extent of very detailed research which has been, and is still being carried on in the various fields they cover. Unfortunately, the lands most affected by contact with India are generally those possessing a climate inimical to the preservation of perishable material and peopled by races having little or no historical sense. The student is therefore dependent mainly on Greek and Chinese history for the scanty early notices of Eastern races, with an occasional rare document on rock or metal inscribed by the orders of an exceptional ruler. But as such early notices are not directed towards recording interesting facts concerning art matters, it follows that most of our knowledge of the arts has to be compiled from the internal evidence of such objects as have survived the destructive forces of climate and fanaticism.

Early historical notices refer to India's political and commercial intercourse with the outer world. Resulting from these connections, we find, on the one hand, the introduction of foreign elements into the art of India, and, on the other, the extension of Indian taste abroad. The effect of the effluence of art motifs from India into other countries was very unequal, but the most important, and that which preserves for us to-day the clearest evidence of its extent, is that of the Buddhist period in India; but the influence extended from India during this period was, perhaps, less in respect of art than of philosophy and ritual and of the iconography which so early became an essential feature of Buddhist worship.

All the Eastern countries coming under the spell of Buddhism possessed old-established arts of their own which, with the advent of the new religion, were directed towards the creation of pictorial and plastic representations of the Buddha and the Buddhist Hierarchy. The earlier efforts in this direction were hampered by conscientious endeavours to preserve the features of the prototypes furnished by Indian teachers, but as self-reliance and confidence grew the restrictions of foreign convention were loosened, and, with ultimate freedom from restraint, works of the highest merit were produced in the style native to each country. The new religion was, in fact, a fertilizer and vitalizer which, in providing new inspiration in the fields of art, awakened and re-energized latent talent to express itself, at first in the terms of the Indian formulæ, but later to produce its finest works when native genius found it could declare itself more eloquently in its own enriched vernacular.

It is by reason of the spread of Buddhism and the survival of a great number of the resultant shrines that certain definite outward currents of influence from India become clearly recognizable. The new Enlightenment was carried by missionaries from within and was sought by pious pilgrims from without. The religious fervour so strong from the days of Asoka spread far beyond the native land of the Buddha and impelled the pious to journey from all parts of the East to acquire a knowledge of correct ritual and the approved iconography from the most competent authorities within their reach.

The extension of the new religion over a wide area was probably greatly assisted in its progress by the popular appeal of its gorgeously painted shrines.

The great discoveries of wall-paintings and votive banners made during recent years by Stein, von Le Coq, Grünwedel, Pelliot, and others, along the old trade routes between Persia and China, through Turkestan, indicate the enthusiasm of the people of that region for the embellishment of their shrines, and the richness of the decorations accords with one's conception of what such establishments should be along a road which carried the ordinance of the ritual into China and Persia and in the hands of a people having a highly developed art sense.

If we may judge from the frequent occurrence in these paintings of donors and their travelling equipment, and from the evidence of coins discovered along the route, it would seem not unlikely that, in addition to the purely pious donors, there were merchants who sought spiritual counterpoise by combining with a commercial expedition a pilgrimage to the many shrines on their way. There is evidence to indicate that each shrine had its resident artist-priest, or could readily summon skilled decorators from neighbouring shrines. It was therefore necessary that the local artists should be equipped with a knowledge of the correct iconography for the major compositions which they were commissioned to paint or model, and that they should have a knowledge of the Jatakas for subjects more entertaining while yet being of a sacred character. For

this knowledge they were indebted to the pious pilgrims who visited famous shrines for the purpose of acquiring relics, sacred books, and drawings from the works of acknowledged masters in India, and whatever information was lacking the local genius, whether priest or painter, doubtless filled in as he pleased.

The variations in style and treatment observable in the paintings denote the work of different schools all dominated in greater or less degree by the severe canons from India, but bearing strongly impressed the racial individuality of the designers, who even break away from the orthodox lines wherever their artistic genius is greater than the binding force of hierarchical restrictions.

The internal evidence of their Chinese inspiration, if not indeed of their actual production, which many of these wall and banner paintings bear, is interesting. In the severe and sombre presentments of the Buddhas standing in their elaborate halos the restraining conditions of correct canonical posture, bodily development, and costume are relatively strictly conformed to, with a pardonable modification in respect of the eyes and finger-nails; but when the Jatakas form the subject, or in the general compositions of the predella, this restraint no longer holds, and the artist "goes for" his subject with all the joyous freedom characteristic of the Chinese craftsman. Here he is dealing with everyday life unchecked by the paralyzing abstractions of metaphysical considerations. His figures are human, their poses vigorous and spontaneous, their facial expression indica-

tive of human or other emotions, and the whole scene eloquent of life and movement.

An almost equal degree of freedom is employed in the rendering of Lokapalas, Dharmapalas, and other attendant personages, and in the wonderfully designed costumes of the Bodhisattvas.

It is noticeable that the draperies of the Chinese Turkestan paintings exhibit less trace of Persian influence than do those of Ajanta, nor does one find there the masonic rocks of the Ajanta paintings which Professor Strzygowski attributes to Mazdaic inspiration. Occasionally the bamboo-like rocks occur such as Professor Strzygowski has shown in Fig. 4 of his paper.

Chinese genius would appear to be responsible for the evolution of the architectural scheme of the Buddhist heavens with their charming pavilions and terraces elevated on piles above the sacred waters. If the ordinance in these scenes is rather severe, relief is found in the antics of the very human "water-babies" in their expression of delight at their rebirth, and in the abandon of the dancing girl with her amazing manifestation of agile and rhythmic motion expressed in every swinging and fluttering line of her drapery and the airy grace of her limbs.

The drawing of the Chinese draughtsmen when unrestrained is characterized by a greater realism and naturalism and greater spontaneity than that of the Indian. This is shown, not only in the pose of figures and the general composition, but in every detail. In

the case of the Ajanta pictures, wonderful though they be, the majority of the figures suggest that they are posing for the artist, every line being carefully adjusted to express a sort of intensive gracefulness and suavety which is very satisfying and even cloying. There is a self-consciousness in almost every pose that is absent from the Chinese Jataka pictures.

The change which came over Chinese decorative art after the introduction of Buddhism was probably due more to the West than to India. The steady trade between China and the West, and the political importance of the great Central Asian tract, caused a strong current of culture to ebb and flow along it, and we find Byzantium, Persia, Turkestan, and China all exchanging art motifs, each modifying what they received and passing it on or returning it in its modified form. The direct influence from India on Chinese art was not strong. The current East and West overpowered the weaker stream that flowed intermittently from the South to North, which was felt only near its débouchure. The power of India in other directions to east and north-east of the peninsula was a different matter, as is shown in the papers following. In these papers the evidence of contact between India and the Farther East is reviewed and examples of art and iconography showing Indian influence have been quoted and described. It appears that that influence affected technique only for a period, after which it weakened before the forces of local indigenous culture. One also sees the modifications and accretions that marked the migration of

Buddhist art in various directions and the reflex effect on India herself. This ebb and flow has been in progress through the ages, and if by research we are yet able only to partially reveal the movement during a relatively recent epoch, that revelation is of itself important and will help to raise the veil from periods lying still deeper in the mists.

F. H. ANDREWS.

June 30, 1924.

PERSO-INDIAN LANDSCAPE IN NORTHERN ART

THERE were originally two forms of art both in Asia and Europe. The inhabitants of the South from the very beginning applied pictorial art to the representation of living creatures, in order to assert their rights to possession in this world and the world to come. The man of the North, on the contrary, as far as he remained independent of the quickly advancing South, came to art by quite another path—namely, from handicraft to ornament. Later, when he began to avail himself of nature as a form, he did not begin with individual living beings, but with the representation of nature as an entity—that is to say, landscape. These truths have not so far been recognized in the history of Art. I propose to show in a few words, and with the help of the slides, where the rise of the oldest Northern expressive landscape in pictorial art may be traced, and how strangely this first blossoming died off only at the time of Dürer, and to such an extent that to-day hardly an idea of it remains. I begin with the landscape in the mosaics of Ravenna, and I quote as an example a representation which fills in a strange way the entire surface from the

bottom upwards. The subject is one of the Evangelists, on the choir-wall of San Vitale. St. Luke (Fig. 1) is seated, facing the spectator, on the second of several rock steps; the first serves as a foundation for his feet and for a basket with rolls of parchment. Under his feet a marshy landscape can be seen. Behind the saint, who is looking upwards, there are several more steps, and on the highest, overtopping the evangelist's head, at the extreme end, between trees, is his symbol—the ox. Above the animal we see the summit of a hill and clouds. The landscape fills the entire surface without giving in itself the slightest impression of space. It serves as a pedestal for the accommodation of all the figures required in an objective sense, according to the principle that these must not intersect. The heron below and the animal above stand in no clear spacial relation to the gigantic saint in the landscape. We find here, in a decorative work which has a brilliantly coloured effect brought about by glass-cubes, a human figure in Greek garments, placed in front of a wall of rock steps which do not attempt a real reproduction of nature. The intention is rather to accentuate, by the contrast of its small scattered colour-specks, the value of the quietly collected colour-planes of the living beings so as to secure the effect at a distance. It is a question of anything rather than of spacial grouping, for the figures are pushed flat against the picture plane by the rocky walls—that is to say, by the background.

All this appears a little less strikingly in another picture (Fig. 2), the well-known mosaic from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.



Alinari photo.

FIG. 1.—ST. LUKE: CHOIR-WALL MOSAIC OF SAN VITALE, RAVENNA.



FIG. 11.—THE GOOD SHEPHERD : MAUSOLEUM OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA.

Alinari photo.

leum of Galla Placidia. The figure, a truly court-like remodelled Good Shepherd, is placed in a landscape that is geometrically built up in two sections. The strange rocky step that runs like a wide ribbon along the lower border is cleft like an irregular dentil. In both mosaics the working hand does not seem to advance creatively, but to limit itself to reproducing forms in order to give play to an instructive tendency, tied down by a firm artistic tradition. In its significance this is Christian; but has the appearance of these mosaics any artistic connection with Christianity?

Let us consider whether at the same time—*i.e.*, about the middle of the first millennium of our era—we can trace other artistic circles with similar methods of representation. Our quest leads us first to the other end of the Southern world, to Buddhist India. The wall-painting of the cave-temple number II. of Ajantâ (Fig. 3) shows five women standing beside each other in a meadow, with children playing in front of them. In the foreground is a dentil, and on each side of the women is a wall ascending in blocks which, built up symmetrically, form the background. At the border are bananas and betel-nut bushes over which, poised in the air, are on the left side a praying couple in front of clouds, and on the right side an arhat. Everywhere between the figures and rocks are flowers and twigs. With regard to the proposition we are putting forward, we shall be asked where the landscape is to be found. Shall we take as such the step in front and the wall behind, built up of regular quarry stones with plants

growing between them? Similar to Ravenna, but here, in India, rendered by the simpler means of mural painting, a wall-space, slightly over-heightened, is filled in such a way that, in a thin spacial layer between the wall and the steps, there appear human beings in Indian nakedness with loin-cloths. These women and children, as well as the plants, show a typical and, as I think, especially Indian mode of imitating nature. Griffith, the first editor of these paintings ("The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ," London, 1896, I., p. 30 to picture 31), says unhesitatingly: "The background is filled by the curious masonry forms which seem to stand in these pictures for rocks and hills." Can anybody doubt this after the examples from Ravenna? In Ravenna there was a possibility of Greek influence, and the rocks were indeed relatively more assimilated to nature than in India, where they are transformed in a purely geometrical manner and built up without any reference to nature.

I should like to point out, with the aid of a second example, that in Ajantâ also this is not always the case in such an extreme manner. The wall-painting in rock-cave I. of Ajantâ is unfortunately much damaged. A gate on the right side of the centre divides the fresco into a society picture on the left and a landscape with cattle on the right side. I show here only this latter. The meadow is hemmed in with mountains, which reach so deep down between the gate and the resting cattle on the right side that these seem to be absolutely separated from the door. The cattle increase



FIG. III.—WALL-PAINTING OF THE CAVE-TEMPLE NO. 11. OF AJANTA.

Reproduced, by permission of the Secretary of State for India, from 'The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta,' by J. GRIFFITHS (London, 1896-7) (Cave 11., No. 31).

in size as they recede from the foreground, but the mountains decrease in front. We dare not trust our eyes with their European focus, when we perceive the enormous head of the cow looking over the mountain and the valley in front. Unfortunately a large piece of the painted surface above has fallen off; we see only how the rocky steps lead up to a crooked wall, behind which, on the right, two demons are visible. In the centre, cows lie crosswise behind each other; in front are several calves in a flowery meadow. The animals are rigidly homogeneous, the intention being to characterize the species. The shape of the mountains seems incomprehensible. It is best to start from the bottom where the rock-step, cut in symmetrical shapes, signifies the beginning of the mountain. Thus we are no longer surprised by the rocks which are built up of geometrical crystal-like sections long drawn out and climbing up behind the calf on the left side. Griffith does not see the landscape in this pastoral scene at all; he only notes that the type of cattle is well represented and that this part of the picture reminds him of Dürer; he fails to notice that the landscape is arbitrarily inserted to fill in the space between the animal shapes, so as to frame surfaces, the bottom with the step below as well as the background of mountains.

There is still a third domain in which this kind of landscape occurs—in the Far East. There wonderful specimens of representative and decorative art are preserved, of which two examples may be considered. One of the best known works of art in the Horiushi temple

at Nara is the reliquary which is known under the name of the shrine of Tamamushi, and which was presented to the Empress Suiko (593-628). On the four sides of the substructure of a house are panels with four landscapes. But these landscapes present even greater difficulty in recognition as such than the Ravenna and Indian examples. Smidt has published a minute objective description of the shrine (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, ii., 1913-14, p. 402 f). Already the first picture (Fig. 4), the homage paid to relics, shows a noteworthy treatment of the soil. Below the reliquary in the centre, the two lions and the two Sramana offering incense, kneeling on carpets, we see without any spacial connection small bands of elongated form, set braidwise, grasses hanging down from them and trees springing up by the side. The explanation of this heaping up of bands is given by the sacrifice to the tiger in the next picture; Mount Kulachala is represented, above a Bodhisattva in the act of hanging up his upper garment in order to rush down the steep slope into the valley, where we see him serve as food to the tigress and her cubs. A similar self-sacrifice is shown in another picture. We see, below, Shaka as a hermit discussing with Indra a sentence of wisdom which above he is seen writing down. Here, also, he hurries down and appears at the right as Bodhisattva. On the fourth side is visible Mount Sumeru, resembling a kind of pillar, which on the top and on the side-arms carries palaces and is encircled at the base by two dragons. Beneath, in a house, Shaka is enthroned between two



FIG. IV.—PAINTING UNDERNEATH THE SHRINE OF TAMAMUSHI AT NARA.



FIG. V.—BRONZE MIRROR OF THE SHOSOIN, FROM THE TEMPLE AT NARA.

standing Bodhisattvas; on both sides are animals. All the four sides of the Tamamushi shrine give thus, always in a landscape setting, examples of the Buddhist doctrine of salvation. This doctrine had come to Japan from the West shortly before the birth of the Empress Suiko; during her lifetime the struggle and victory of the new faith were worked out. The shrine itself may be said to come from Corean, Chinese, or Central Asiatic hands; the landscape types are at any rate not at home on Eastern Asiatic soil, but have been brought from India or Central Asia, together with the doctrine. The Chinese landscape of later times looks very different indeed.

Yet another landscape may be discussed which this time is found not in a painting, but on a piece of metal-work, a bronze mirror of the Shosoin of about the seventh century, from the same temple at Nara. It shows on the back (Fig. 5), around the ring in the middle, Mount Meru, then a circle of waves followed by land with four mountain-tops at the cardinal points—the four continents—between these hilly ranges, in front of which roam wild animals. The hill-tops again are wooded, along the border are clouds and birds. One cannot doubt for a moment that the landscape has become merely a decorative pattern to fill up necessary space. The signs for "mountain" are here slightly different from those of the shrine in the temple at Nara; at best we might compare Mount Sumeru of the shrine with one of the continents of the mirror. The formation of the small bands is missing. The working of the clay

model must have been decisive for the casting: the double outlines are worked in a slanting manner which allow full play to the high lights on the metal. Such technical details make us look towards Northern or Central Asia; and the hunting beasts which gallop along at full speed suggest the same. Thither the scholar must turn his thoughts in tentative search, for he has known for a long time that Hellenism, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism have certain points of contact in Central Asia, which must be traced back to a germinal soil of art between Altai and Iran; *cp.* my book "Altai-Iran and the Migrations" (1917).

In my recent works on "The Architecture of the Armenians and Europe" (1918) and "The Origin of Christian Church Art" (1920), the English translation of which, prepared by Mr. Dalton and Braunholz, appeared in 1923, I tried to show the importance of the universal religion of Mazdaism on the development of art. Neither Hellenism nor Buddhism, both of which in the Southern manner made use of the human figure for pictorial purposes, have been able to offer durable resistance to the influence of Mazdaistic art. What is known as Hvarenah landscape—*i.e.*, in the sense of Zarathustra, nature filled with the power and glory of God—in Mazdaism had, in pictorial art, led to a landscape composed of symbols remote from nature. And this landscape, being absolutely flat, makes no attempt at spacial effect or representation. To put the matter briefly: I consider the landscape which is traceable to all the countries round Iran about the middle of

the first millennium, as being not of Hellenistic, but of Mazdaistic origin in its signification, and of Iranian origin in its form. To-day, since excavations in Iran for the purposes of Mazdaistic research are entirely wanting, we are not able to pursue the growth of this form of art in its original domain. We can gain, however, from Hellenistic painting an idea as to the time of its first appearance. A few examples will make this clear.

Let us consider a wall-painting in the Casa di Marco Lucrezio at Pompeii, a fight between animals: a bull has been brought to bay by a lion and a panther; in the background we perceive deer looking round and taking to flight. The landscape begins below with the cleft rock-step and in the background forms conical rocks, from behind which trees appear. The desolate representation, treeless in the foreground and lacking any intimation of human proximity, is specially remarkable, particularly in the cracks which form steps in the foreground and show an attempt at naturalistic rendering. In the battle of Alexander, that well-known floor-mosaic from Pompeii, the spectator has always been puzzled as to the significance of the small conical rocks in the foreground. The Persian subject shows, perhaps, the way by which these strange landscape motives may have entered into Hellenistic art, as well as the representation of the fight between the animals of our picture—an especially Mazdaistic subject.

To give an idea of the Hvarenah landscape, I turn back once more to Ravenna. There we find in one of

the big mosaics, that of the apse of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, a landscape which with a little pains can be transformed into a purely Mazdaistic one. By taking out the living creatures and drawing the line of the shorter arm of the cross through the centre, as in the Greek cross, in order to form a wheel on the background of stars, instead of the Latin cross, we obtain exactly the Hvarenah landscape. The rock-steps with their flowers and trees below, the morning clouds above with the symbol of God floating impressively between them, all this presents a monumental simplicity and grandeur which give a high notion of the essence of Iranian art. Another apse, described by Paulinus of Nola, gives such a landscape, which, although Christian, is almost purely Mazdaistic. One of the best examples is shown by the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano.

The form of landscape created by Mazdaism has influenced the whole so-called Middle Ages in Europe; or better, the Mazdaistic expression of art has passed over to the West together with what we call the culture of the Middle Ages. I shall give two examples of the fact itself, and would then like to show that the significance of Hvarenah stood at the cradle of one of the first efforts of Northern art, even when Northern art was closely copying nature. This figure, from the Vatican Octateuch, number 746 (I. fol. 251 V.), which is a manuscript of the Old Testament, shows Moses receiving the tablets of the law. In this Greek miniature of the twelfth century Mount Sinai is represented as a cube in the geometrical line which is so characteristic of

the Iranian landscape. The mode of showing Moses coming forward from behind, not beside the close mass of the mountain, contains, of course, spacial indications which are derived from Greek art. At the same time, a correct estimate of size as between man and mountain is missing. We must, therefore, not be tempted to establish, on the strength of isolated Hellenistic touches, a pedigree for the entire landscape, as has been done by some scholars (W. Kallab, "Tuscan Landscape in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century").

At the conclusion of this first series an example may be considered, in which you will find side by side, on the left the old manner, far removed from nature, of the Middle Ages, and on the right the naïve manner, close to nature, born of the Gothic—that is to say, the North Christian art of Europe. Let us take, for example, a landscape of 1445 from the princely gallery of Donaueschingen. The composition begins at the lower end with the marshy landscape and the bird, as is the case several times at Ravenna, then at the left the gradual rising of rocks, and immediately in front of them is a figure looking up like the Evangelist in the first representation. On the rocks is the old sign for "tree." The figure opposite stands out against a wood, depicted more faithfully to nature. The centre is absolutely true to nature. In front of a castle in the background is a pond with an outlet gushing forth to the foreground. Everywhere along the zigzag line of the water grow shrubs and grasses, with the object of deepening the space. The picture represents the legend of the meeting of St. Paul

and St. Anthony. This completes the first series of evidence.

Of a second more recent series of less fundamental connections between the old Iranian and the new European landscape, which begins in the West with the invasion of Persian miniature painting from Spain into France and Western Germany, the Iranian descent can again be proved only by looking backwards from later specimens. I could show you typical examples of the manner in which the diverse modern Persian collections of poems are decorated, sometimes page for page, both in the writing and in the accompanying pictures. The field that is left open for writing or painting appears framed by a landscape which is built up of single set pieces without any connecting space, altogether after the manner of the old Hvarenah landscape. Below the soil, above the sky indicated by Chinese cloud motives, between the two at the small borders, trees and plants rise up one above the other. It looks as if the object was to ensure that the poetical creation offered to the reader should be introduced auspiciously. I have the impression that the pictures are suspended in and surrounded by the old Hvarenah landscape. One feels, therefore, tempted to infer the Mazdaistic origin of the motive, in spite of the late date of the specimens that have come down to us. I shall be brief consequently, as there ought to be no necessity for an exhaustive description of the pictures themselves, but only of the frames.

Let me refer to a miniature from the Divan-i-Mani

of the former public library at Petrograd. The manuscript was written by Haidar ben Ibrahim el-Husseini in the year 961 Hegira (A.D. 1554). Similarly there is a miniature, from the Museum of Applied Arts in Leipsic, of the Bostân of Sa'di of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Such Hvarenah framings found their way also to Northern Europe, before the Islamic world came to an end in Spain. At the time when the joy of reproducing the immediate picture as given by nature was being felt by painters, we find that the Persian motive of pushing the picture or text a little out of the centre was developed also in Europe. Exactly as in the East, the picture was surrounded by a kind of continuous pattern made up of closely observed vegetable and animal motives. I shall consider side by side a Persian and a Western example.

We will now examine a page from the Yusuf and Zuleika of Jami, dated 965 Hegira (A.D. 1557), the property of Professor Sarre in Berlin. Here the old Hvarenah symbol, the vine, as in the façade of Meshatta, is used instead of the landscape. One might place beside it the leaves of the well-known Breviary Grimani. Next I will refer to a miniature of MS. 325 of the princely library of Donaueschingen. As forming another couple, of a pen drawing, after a photograph which I found at Tiflis, with the centre left open, and next to it there is a page (34v) from another well-known manuscript, the Prayer-Book of the Emperor Maxi-

milian, signed by Dürer in 1515. In both of these we see foxes at the bottom.

The modern Persian miniature painting had also a strong influence on Western art in other matters. As a conclusion to this last series I put side by side two love-gardens. The one will show you the first of the miniatures of MS. Add. 18113, British Museum, fol. liv., dated 799 Hegira (A.D. 1396). A garden shut off by a high wall, planted with the typical flowers, evergreen and blossoming trees, above which, to the right, appears the crescent moon on the blue starry sky. In the garden itself we get probably an illustration of the love adventures of Prince Humai and Humajum, the daughter of the Emperor of China. Under the cypress a woman prostrate in a faint, on the left side a man stepping towards her, on the right side a female attendant. Figure 20 shows the Garden of Paradise from the Historical Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main. We see the garden with the characteristic isolated shrubs and trees, the enclosing wall, and, inside, the Virgin Mary, with the curious love motives in the figures standing and sitting around her. Concerning this question the recent works on the origin of medieval love-songs, romances of love, and the worship of women should be consulted in order to realise that the history of literature has followed the history of art in tracing back the motives that originated in Persia. I drew attention to this in 1904 in my work on Meshatta.

I consider this series of landscapes to be Northern

and originally at home in Iran and in Mazdaism. In my opinion, it is not the southern part of Persia—that is, the Sassanian—which provides the clue to this problem, but the northern, the Parthian part, which is not at all influenced by the court-art of the south; this Northern frontier district of Iran, in its apprehension of art, followed lines that were taken up again by the later Northern art in that Christian renaissance which we call Gothic art. There, too, an expressive landscape gradually developed itself, but in contrast to the Mazdaistic landscape it followed the lines of the closest observation of nature, as, for instance, in the great altar piece by the van Eycks in Ghent.

I have the impression that the historian of the art of more modern times might find an easy starting-point for the problems here alluded to, by way of Dürer, Giorgione, and Leonardo. Dürer has his cosmic landscapes, as they are found, beginning with the Apocalypse in the copperplate of the "Great Fortuna," the Crucifixion at Dresden, and especially in the All Saints altar-piece in Vienna, which, from my point of view, I should like to call the "Dawn." Above all, Giorgione in his concert idyl in the Louvre and the "Nature" of Palazzo Giovanelli in Venice offer essential points worthy of treatment. I should recommend, for instance, a comparison between the female figure at the well in Giorgione's or in a well-known picture of Titian with the similar figure in the Frankfort love-garden, previously considered. Bellini's "Religious Allegory" and the essay concerning it by Gustav Ludwig lead us farther.

Thence we shall have to trace the line by way of Spain back to the East. In Leonardo's landscapes and in many touches of the early Italian renaissance there lie traces which must be confronted with Eastern Asiatic art, which, however, cannot be treated here. That is a subject in itself.

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI.

AUTHOR'S NOTE.—This lecture was delivered before the India Society on January 3, 1922, and has also been published in German—"Die Landschaft in der nordischen Kunst" (Leipsic, Seemann).

I also gave a lecture in April, 1924, entitled "The French Love Gardens in German and Italian Art," in the Institute of Art-History at Florence, which dealt in detail with the questions touched on at the end of the India Society lecture. The Florence lecture has not yet been published.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA AND JAVA

THERE are few subjects which are of more absorbing interest to the student of ancient Indian history than the gradual spread of Indo-Aryan civilisation over what we may call the three Indies: India proper, Farther India, and the Indian Archipelago.

From their Vedic home in the Land of the Five Rivers we see the Indo-Aryans in constant struggle with the dark-coloured aborigines penetrate into the plains of the Gangā and Yamunā, which were to become the real centre of Brahmanism and the cradle of Buddhism.

Gradually the whole of Northern India—stretching from the Himālaya to the Vindhya and from the Western to the Eastern Ocean—became Āryāvarta, the Land of the Aryans.

Then Aryan civilisation crosses the mountain barrier of the Vindhya and plunges into the mysterious Dakṣiṇāpatha, which the Rāmāyaṇa describes as a wild country inhabited by monsters and monkeys, but not without scattered settlements of Brahmanical hermits. Here among a Dravidian population of alien race and tongue the Indo-Aryans firmly establish their religious and social institutions. About the time of Aśoka (*circa* 250 B.C.), the great Buddhist Emperor of Northern

India, the process appears to have been completed and the whole of India proper, including Ceylon, has become the domain of Indo-Aryan civilisation.

But not content with holding sway over the whole of the Indian Continent from the Himavant to Cape Comorin, the Aryo-Indians now carry their culture across the sea to the shores of Farther India and the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Here again we see the curious spectacle of entirely different races adopting and thoroughly assimilating Indo-Aryan civilisation, as it finds expression in its two great religions—Brahmanism and Buddhism, its two great epics—Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, its Sacred Law, and all that wealth of legendary lore which in the Indian homeland had been accumulating for many centuries.

In Farther India we find in particular two nations which prove marvellously adapted to receive the cultural influences from the West—the Khmer of Cambodia, the country on the banks of the Mekong, and the Cham of Champa. From the blending of their own national genius with the fructifying culture of India there springs that remarkable form of colonial Hinduism productive of wonderful works of art.

The Hinduised kingdom of Champa, according to Chinese sources, had been founded in the year A.D. 137. The oldest epigraphical document in Sanskrit, the rock inscription of Vō-chanh, is ascribed to the third (or perhaps the second) century of the Christian era. By the end of the thirteenth century the Cham state is still referred to by Marco Polo as "*la grant contrée de*

Cyamba." Two centuries later it was finally overpowered by the Annamites, who were originally settled in Tonkin, and who in the Sanskrit records of Champa are, curiously enough, indicated by the name of *Yavana*, a term which in India proper was, in the first instance, applied to the Greeks!

Among the islands of the Malay Archipelago it is in particular Java which in a large degree has been influenced by Indo-Aryan civilisation. Although the inhabitants adopted Islām in the course of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, Hinduism has left traces which four centuries of Muslim ascendancy have not been able to destroy.

First of all, there are a number of geographical names which retain the remembrance of that most brilliant period of Javanese history. The loftiest mountain top of the island is known by the name of Smeru or Sēmeru, in which we easily recognise the Sumeru of Indian mythology. Other volcanoes bear the familiar names of Arjuna, Brama (*i.e.*, Brahma), and Kawi. The principal river of Central Java and of the whole south coast is the Sērayu, which takes its rise from the southern slopes of Mount Prahū. Evidently the name *Sērayu* is the Javanese form of Sanskrit *Sarayu*, the ancient name of the Gogra, the well known tributary of the Ganges. Ayodhyā, the glorious capital of Rāma, was situated on the bank of the Sarayu, and this alone will suffice to account for the name having been applied to a river in far-off Java.

Numerous other instances could be quoted; let me

mention only one more. One of the eastern-most districts of Java is called Běsuki. It is evident that the district was so named after the capital of the same name situated on the northern coast. But it is not a little curious that Běsuki is the Javanese form of *Vāsuki*, well known to Sanskritists as the name of the great Nāgarāja, the King of Snakes. Very often we find *Vāsuki* mentioned in Sanskrit literature from the Mahābhārata onwards. "Among snakes I am *Vāsuki*," says Kṛishṇa in the "Bhagavadgītā" (X., 28). I may add that up to the present day the Serpent King, *Vāsuki*, is extensively worshipped in the Western Himalayas under the names of Bāsiki Nāg and Bāsak Nāg. At one time his cult must have spread to the east of Java, for there can be little doubt that the town of Běsuki must have received its name from the great Serpent deity.

Up to the present time the ruling chiefs, nobles, and high functionaries of Java bear titles and proper names which have retained their ancient Sanskrit forms almost unchanged. Among royal titles I mention: *raja*, *prabu* (Skt. *prabhu*), *bupati* (Skt. *bhūpati*), *adipati* (Skt. *adhipati*), and *aria* (Skt. *ārya*). Among designations of officials: *mantri*, *pati*, *dyaksa* (Skt. *adhyaksha*), and *wadono* (Skt. *vadana*)*.

Side by side with names of Arabic origin, and we may even say in preference to them, the members of the Javanese nobility bear Sanskrit names like *Surya*-

* Cf. L. W. C. van den Berg, "De inlandsche rangen en titels op Java en Madoera" (Batavia, 1887).

putra and Suryavinata, the pronunciation having only slightly modified owing to a change of accent and a more o-like colouring of the *a* vowel. A young Javanese scholar attached to the Leiden University has the very appropriate name of Sostrovidogda—i.e., Skt. *Sāstra-vidagdha*, lit. "Versed in the Scriptures."

With regard to these proper names it is interesting to note that, although they are manifestly composed of Sanskrit elements, they are different, as far as I know, from any personal names nowadays used in India proper. We may say that the existence of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influences, but that in their present form they are the outcome of a prolonged independent development. Even if we go back to the Hindu period of Javanese history, we meet with royal and noble names of which the same may be said. Side by side with pure Indo-Aryan names such as Vishṇu-var dhana, Jayavardhana, and Vijaya, we meet with kings bearing such curious names as Krētanagara and Krētarājasa, not to mention purely Javanese names like Airlanga, Siṇḍok, and Hayam Vuruk. A great personage in Javanese history of the fourteenth century is the Regent Gajamada (died A.D. 1364). Here, again, we have a name which, although composed of two well-known Sanskrit words, it would be very surprising to meet with in India proper.

The Javanese language is as full of words of Sanskrit origin as the English is of French (Roman) words. The Old-Javanese is even denoted by two Sanskrit words as *Basa Kavi*—i.e., "the language of poetry." Whatever

literature there exists in that Kawi language is largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals.

The sagas of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and of the divine hero, Rāma, which were sung in Sanskrit verses by Vyāsa and Vālmiki, enjoy among the population of Java as great a popularity as in the land of their origin. The Javanese have, indeed, so completely assimilated those famous legends that their foreign origin has been forgotten. For the great mass of the population the Pāṇḍavas and Rāma are truly national heroes, born and bred in the Isle of Java. The extreme favour which those Indian stories have found and retained until now among all classes of society is not so much due to their having been sung in famous old Javanese poems as to that most popular of entertainments, the *Wayang* or shadow-show. Indians familiar with their Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa would be surprised to see Arjuna, Kṛishṇa, and Rāma appear here in the quaint garb of Wayang puppets, which in their strangely fantastical, yet unmistakably artistic, character are the true children of Indonesian art. Stranger still are the clowns who invariably accompany the hero, be it Arjuna or Rāma, and who contribute not a little to the delight of the audience by their good-humoured, though not always delicate, jokes. These clowns or *panakawans*—Sēmar, the father, and his two sons, Petruk and Nalagareng—are undoubtedly as Indonesian in origin as they are in name.

That Hindu influence which up to the present day it is possible to trace in many an aspect of Javanese life has found its grandest expression in those numerous

monumental and sculptural remains with which the Isle of Java is studded. All those ancient sanctuaries of the Hindu period are now, alas! in a more or less ruined condition, due not to vandalism or iconoclasm, but to long centuries of indifference and neglect. At the time when Islām gradually invaded Java, its ways were peaceful and free from that fanaticism which five centuries before had robbed the vast plains of Hindustan of the entire wealth of her ancient temples. Yet after the introduction of the Muslim religion the old gods of Hinduism no longer enjoyed official worship and veneration, although the mass of the people continued to look up to their idols in superstitious dread. No hand was raised to stop the decay due to natural causes which, in a land highly volcanic and consequently prone to earthquakes and, moreover, extremely luxuriant in its tropical vegetation, were apt to conspire together for the destruction of ancient buildings. Active human agency, too, has not entirely been wanting. Here, as unfortunately in any parts of the globe which have been the seat of ancient civilisations, the carefully dressed stones and well-burnt bricks of those forsaken and overgrown sanctuaries of an abandoned religion excited the rapacity of villagers in search of cheap and durable building material. It is especially the interesting group of early stone temples on the Dyeng plateau which, owing to its isolated and unprotected position, has suffered irreparable damage.

During the two centuries when Java was ruled by the Dutch East India Company (1619-1798), the attention

of the foreign rulers was so entirely absorbed by matters of commerce and conquest that the magnificent monuments of a bygone civilisation could scarcely excite a passing curiosity. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that—owing, no doubt, to the growth of a more enlightened and sympathetic feeling towards alien races—superficial curiosity developed into scholarly interest, which in its turn initiated a period of ever-deepening research. In the year 1778 the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences was founded; its programme included the investigation not only of matters “which could promote agriculture, trade, and the special prosperity of this colony,” but also of all that relates to the natural history, the antiquities, manners, and customs of the people.

Among the men who were the first to take an intelligent interest in the wonderful relics of Java's past we may mention Nicolaus Engelhard, who was Governor of the North-East Coast from 1801 to 1808; at his instigation the ruins of Prambanan and a number of other temples were cleared and surveyed. It is to be deplored that his antiquarian tastes led the Dutch Governor injudiciously to remove a great many images from the temples to which they belonged to the grounds of his country house, “De Vrijheid,” at Semarang. This spoil finally reached the Leiden Museum of Ethnography.

The man who more than anyone else stimulated archæological and historical research in those days was Sir Stamford Raffles, the enlightened and able Governor-General who ruled Java during the brief period of

British supremacy (1811-16). Under his auspices the work of antiquarian research was continued on a larger scale, and he laid down the results in his remarkable work, the "History of Java" (London, 1817). As a pioneer's work the book of Raffles has a great merit, and his accounts of the ancient monuments may still be consulted with profit by students of Javanese archæology. The historical part, however, which is largely derived from unreliable sources—such as native chronicles (*babad*) and fantastical readings of inscriptions—should be used with the greatest caution. Later authors, like James Fergusson, by relying on Raffles' historical information, have often been led into strange errors.

It would be out of place here to enumerate the several scholars, mostly of Dutch nationality, who in the course of the last century have devoted their energies to the investigation of the monumental remains of ancient Java. Let me only mention Professor Hendrik Kern, who, guided by his marvellous knowledge of Sanskrit and modern Javanese, was the first to master the Kawi language, in which the writings of ancient Java are composed. A number of Javanese inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kawi were admirably edited by Kern, who, among many other scholarly contributions, published an edition and a Dutch translation of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Kern's most gifted pupil in the domain of Indonesian studies was Dr. Brandes, who in a degree seldom met with combined artistic and scholarly accomplishments, a remarkable insight in architectural problems with a

rare knowledge of ancient and modern languages. Commissioned by the Batavia Government with a survey of the Javanese monuments, he brought out two monographs, the one on the Temple of Jago (1904), and the other—a posthumous work—on those of Singhasari and Panataran (1909). Both are model publications and illustrated with the greatest possible completeness.

After a vacancy of five years which followed Dr. Brandes' premature death in June, 1905, he was succeeded by Dr. N. J. Krom, who organised the Archæological Survey of Netherlands-India, and during the term of his office published a remarkable series of papers on the epigraphy, history, and art of ancient Java. After his retirement in 1915 he brought out an excellent "Handbook of Hindu-Javanese Art," two vols. (The Hague, 1920), full of accurate information and well illustrated, and his *magnum opus*, the archæological description of Java's chief monument, the Borobudur, accompanied by a portfolio of 444 large-sized plates, excellent reproductions of photographs.*

These photographs are the outcome of a complete photographic survey carried out by Captain (now Lieut.-Col.) T. van Erp, R.E., during the years 1907-11, under instructions of the Government of Netherlands-India. At the same time Captain van Erp superintended

* N. J. Krom, "Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst" (with an archæological map and 100 plates), 2 vols. (The Hague, 1920). N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, "Beschrijving van Baraboedoer." Vol. I., "Archæologische beschrijving" (The Hague, 1920). The author wishes here gratefully to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Professor Krom's works in composing the present paper.

extensive measures for the upkeep of the monument, a work of restoration executed with great ability and excellent feeling.*

Since December, 1919, Dr. Krom has occupied the newly-created chair for Javanese archæology at the University of Leiden. His successor, as head of the Archæological Survey of Java, is Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, who, aided by a small staff of experts, is now carrying on the work both of preservation and research which does great credit to the Government and to the officers concerned.

It may be safely assumed that, although before the advent of the Hindus the population of Java did not consist of mere savages but had reached a fair degree of civilisation, they practised neither building nor carving in stone except in a most rudimentary fashion. Stone idols of a very crude type have been found in Java as well as in the neighbouring islands, and it is curious that this primitive kind of Polynesian images continued to be made long after Hindu civilisation and art had been introduced. This is proved by some dated specimens which are not earlier than the fourteenth century and must be contemporaneous with the latest period of Hindu-Javanese art.

The numerous stone and brick temples which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration owe their existence primarily to a mighty wave of civilisation

* For particulars on this restoration, see the author's note, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1913, pp. 421 f.

carried across the ocean from the Indian mainland. They belong to Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods who are worshipped in India proper up to the present day. Among the numberless sculptured icons which were once enshrined in the ruined temples, we recognise the great gods of the Hindu Triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, the familiar form of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa—who is the remover of obstacles, and the demon-slaying goddess Durgā. Side by side with these Brahmanical gods we meet with the serene semblance of the Buddha fashioned in those fixed attitudes or *mudrās* which had received authority in the art canons of ancient India. It is not, however, the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, whom the multitudinous images of Borobudur are meant to portray, nor even his predecessors, the human Buddhas, who were believed to have preached the good Law in successive ages remote by millions of years from our own. They are Dhyāni-Buddhas, who never assumed human form but who have their eternal existence in the highest heavens. Side by side with these celestial Buddhas we find the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and those other Saviours who receive so large a share in the worship of the Northern Buddhists. The goddess Tārā, too, must have been as popular in Java as she was in India and as she is in Tibet up to the present day.

Easy as it is to recognise the Indian influence in those objects of worship and works of art, it is extremely difficult to answer the many questions which present themselves in connection with the origin and history of

that influence on the civilisation of ancient Java. Who were the men who raised those shrines and fashioned those images? Were they Hindu artists, or were they Javanese masons taught and directed by Indian masters? If they were Indian immigrants, from which part of the continent did they hail? Must we think of the Hindu element in Javanese civilisation as the result of a strong and sudden impulse which, after exhausting its strength, stopped short and left Java to develop its further culture along natural, national lines? Or was it a continued process which, alternately waxing and waning according to circumstances, steadily worked its way throughout the centuries which constitute the Hindu period of Javanese history?

The fact that the best authorities have answered these and similar allied questions in a wholly divergent sense is due to the paucity of historical data. Ancient India, as we all know, possessed no written history, and here again that lack makes itself painfully felt. There is no account whatever of those mercantile and missionary relations between India and Java which have left such lasting traces in the culture of that island. In the whole gigantic literature of ancient India, both Sanskrit and Pali, there is but a single mention of Java, which occurs in the Fourth Canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The epigraphical records, which to a certain extent must supply the want of historiography, do not throw any light on the early relations between India and the Archipelago, with the exception of a few copperplate charters of the Chola Dynasty.

If we turn to the historical documents of Java, we find that the numerous inscriptions, though clearly testifying to Indian influence by their language and script, hardly ever contain a faint allusion to the homeland from which that influence was derived. Java possesses, it is true, two ancient, historical works written in the Old-Javanese or Kawi language, and of immense interest for local history and archæology. One of them, the "Nāgarakṛtāgama," was discovered in 1894, on the occasion of the Lombok Expedition, when Dr. Brandes saved the unique manuscript from the burning *kraton* of the last Balinese chief of that island. The work in question, however, which was completed in the year A.D. 1365, gives an account of the dynasties which ruled Eastern Java during the two preceding centuries. It contains hardly any reference to India proper, and is of no help whatever in elucidating the early relations between that country and Java.

For our knowledge of these relations we have to rely entirely on the evidence of the monuments supplemented to a certain extent by the information contained in the Imperial Annals of China and in the itineraries of Chinese pilgrims. Earliest among these pilgrims is Fa Hien, who in the year 414, on his voyage home from Ceylon, having been assailed by a violent storm, arrived at a country which he calls Ye-po-ti, and which must have been either Java or Sumatra.

"In this country," he says, "heretics and Brahmins flourish, but the law of Buddha is not much known."

Disappointingly meagre though this information be, it acquaints us, at least, with the historical fact that about A.D. 400 Indian civilisation was established in the Archipelago and that this civilisation was essentially Brahmanical.

When in the year 671 another Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, on his way to India called at a place, Fo-che, which must have been somewhere near Palembang on the Isle of Sumatra, he found Buddhism in a flourishing condition. That Fo-che was a centre of Hindu civilisation appears from the fact that I-tsing sojourned there for six months in order to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar.

The information supplied by the Chinese pilgrims is, on the whole, confirmed by the evidence of the inscriptions. It is very curious that the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago are found not in Java or Sumatra, but in Borneo, an island which we usually associate with head-hunting. From these inscriptions it is evident that about the time of Fa Hien's travels there existed in Eastern Borneo, the present Kutei, on the banks of the Muhakkam River, a state ruled by a line of Hindu or Hinduised *rājas*, who bore names ending in *varman*, such as Aśvavarman and Mūlavarman. These inscriptions, which are composed in plain but pure Sanskrit, record a Brahmanical sacrifice offered up by Brahmanical priests.*

* Cf. the author's paper "The Yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, from Koetei (East Borneo)," in *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. LXXIV (1918), pp. 167-232.

About half a century later in date—*i.e.*, *circa* A.D. 450—is a group of four rock inscriptions found in Western Java at no great distance from Batavia, the capital of Netherlands-India. They relate to a king of the name of Pūrṇavarman, who calls himself the ruler of the town of Tārūmā (or Tārūma). Evidently King Pūrṇavarman was settled in this part of the island, the name of his capital having been preserved in that of the river Chi Tarum, the principal river of Western Java.

One of these inscriptions is carved in bold letters on a boulder lying in the Chi Aruten torrent, and consists of four lines of writing, above which a pair of footprints is deeply cut into the stone. It runs :

“Vikkrāntasyāvanipateḥ
Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ
Tārūmanagarendrasya
Viṣṇor iva padadvayam.”

(“Of the valiant lord of the earth, the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, [who is] the ruler of the Town of Tārūma, [this is] the pair of footprints, like unto Viṣṇu’s.”)

From the king being compared to Viṣṇu it has been somewhat rashly concluded that he was a worshipper of that deity. Some authors even refer to the “State religion” of Tārūma as having been Viṣṇuitic. This much is certain that Pūrṇavarman’s records, like those of Mūlavarman, are Brahmanical. The language is Sanskrit.

Now, it is a point of special interest in regard to those early Sanskrit inscriptions of the Archipelago that they are written in a character which is unmistakably South-Indian, and which is practically identical with the early Grantha alphabet used in their inscriptions by the rulers of the Pallava Dynasty. This dynasty, it will be remembered, held sway over the Coromandel coast for a period of nearly five centuries (*circa* A.D. 300-*circa* 800), and has left us a lasting and brilliant memorial of their rule in that wonderful group of temples and sculptures which is usually indicated by the popular name of "The Seven Pagodas."

There is, therefore, good reason to assume that it was Southern India, and in particular the Coromandel coast, which sent forth the emigrants who carried their Brahmanical religion and sacred language to the eastern islands. This conclusion is confirmed by further evidence. The princes of the Pallava Dynasty have, almost without exception, names ending in *varman*; we noticed that in the earliest epigraphical records of Java and Borneo we meet with similar royal names. These documents are undated, but in the later, dated inscriptions of Java it is the Śaka era which is invariably used. Now, this era, commencing from the year A.D. 78, is essentially the reckoning of Southern India, whereas the Vikrama era—which was in vogue in the North—appears to have been unknown in the Archipelago.

The two earliest dated inscriptions found in Java are those of Changal and Dinaya. The Changal stone

inscription is composed in Sanskrit verses and written in a later form of the same South Indian alphabet, which is used in the rock inscriptions of Western Java. It records the consecration of a *Linga* by a king of the name of Sañjaya, who evidently was settled in Central Java, and whose ancestors belonged to Kuñjarakuñja, a locality in Southern India. It is dated in the Śaka year 654, corresponding to A.D. 732.

The Dinaya inscription, which is dated in the Śaka year 682, corresponding to A.D. 760, records the erection of an image of the Indian sage Agastya. Now, Agastya is the Ṛishi, who is especially worshipped in Southern India, where he is believed to dwell as a *yogi* on the top of the sacred hill named after him, Agastya-Malai or Agastya-Kūṭam, on the boundary of Travancore State and Tinnevely. Agastya is credited with having carried Brahmanical civilisation across the Vindhya Mountains into the Deccan. Besides, he is identified with the asterism Canopus, one of the brightest stars of the Southern sky. It is said that at his rising at the end of the monsoon the waters come to rest. *Agastyodaye jalāni prasīdanti ityāgamah*. This accounts, no doubt, for his being greatly revered among the seafaring population of Southern India. In all probability, it was through their agency that the cultus of Agastya was carried to Java.

In this connection it may also be remembered that in the Malay Archipelago the immigrants from India proper are designated by the name of *orang Keling* or

Kling, and this term is undoubtedly derived from Kalinga, the ancient name of the tribe inhabiting the east coast of India between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari.*

The cumulative evidence which we have been able to adduce points to Southern India as the homeland of Indo-Javanese culture. The inscriptions, however, mentioned in this connection are all Brahmanical. If now we turn to the two earliest Buddhist inscriptions known to exist in Java, it is surprising to find that they are written in a character which has been described as an early type of Nāgarī and which decidedly originates from Northern India. Are we then to assume that the Hindu emigrants who introduced Buddhism into Java came from the North, as the promoters of Brahmanism in all likelihood hailed from the South of the Indian Continent?

The earlier one of these two Buddhist inscriptions is found at Kalasan. It was edited simultaneously by Dr. (now Sir) Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and by Dr. Brandes, and is of great importance for the history

* Cf. Yule and Burnell, "Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases" (London, 1886), i. v. *Kling*. Kalinga is perhaps best known in connection with Aśoka's conquest mentioned in his thirteenth rock-edict. It is curious to remember that during the *Sūtra* period Kalinga was considered to be outside the pale of Aryan civilisation. Baudhāyana says in his "Dharmasūtra" (I. i. 2, 15): *Padbhyām sa kurute pāpam yaḥ Kalingūn prapadyate. Ṛishayo nishkritim tasya prāhur Vaiśvānaram haviḥ* ("He commits sin through his feet, who travels to the country of the Kalingas. The sages declare the Vaiśvānari *ishti* to be a purification for him"). ("Sacred Books of the East," vol. XIV., p. 148.)

of Buddhism in Java.* It is dated in the Śaka year 700, corresponding to A.D. 778. In it we find recorded that a temple dedicated to the great Saviouress Tārā, together with a dwelling for the noble *bhikṣhus* who know the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna, was built by a local ruler who calls himself Kariyāna-Panañkaraṇaḥ, at the instance of the *Guru(s)* of the Śailendra King.

The other inscription found at Kēlurak (Kloerak) is dated in the Śaka year 704 (A.D. 782). Unfortunately the writing has been obliterated to such an extent that it is impossible to obtain a complete reading of the text. This much is certain, that it refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa. It had been set up at the instance of the *Guru* of a king who is called in the inscription "The Ornament of the Śailendra Dynasty."

Which then was this dynasty which, as these two inscriptions show, played such a prominent part in promoting Mahāyāna Buddhism in Java? The brilliant researches of a French scholar, M. George Cœdès, enable us to answer this question.† By ingeniously combining the evidence of the epigraphical records with the data of the Chinese annals, M. Cœdès has revealed the important historical fact that during several centuries there

* Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, "A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java" (*Journal Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*), vol. XVII., part II. (No. XLVII.), pp. 1-10. Dr. J. Brandes, "Een Nāgari-opschrift gevonden tusschen Kalasan en Prambanan," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, vol. XXXI (1886), pp. 240-260.

† George Cœdès, "Le royaume de Çrivijaya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. XVIII. (1918), No. 6.

flourished on the northern coast of Sumatra a Hinduised Malay kingdom known by the Sanskrit name of Śrīvijaya. Its capital of the same name, which must have stood somewhere near the modern town of Palembang, was undoubtedly the same Fo-che where, in the year 671, the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing sojourned six months in order to acquaint himself with Sanskrit grammar. The kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which at the time of its greatest expansion included the country of Kaṭāha (modern Kēdah) on the Malay Peninsula as well as a large portion of Java, was ruled over by a royal house known by the dynastic name of Śailendra. Epigraphical records scattered from the Coromandel coast to the heart of Java bear testimony to the zeal of the Śailendras in promoting the Good Law and raising magnificent monuments for the worship of Buddha and the Bodhi-sattvas.

The magnificence of their architecture may still be admired in that very shrine of Tārā, the consecration of which is recorded on the stone of Kalasan. For there can be little doubt that the temple referred to in the inscription is the Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest ruins of Central Java. The inscribed slab was discovered in its immediate vicinity.

It is very tempting to assume that it was that same powerful and pious dynasty of the Śailendras to which we owe the greatest and most renowned monument not only of Java but of the whole Buddhist world—the Stūpa of Borobudur. The origin and history of the

Borobudur are shrouded in mystery. No foundation record nor relic casket has come to light to disclose for what special purpose this gigantic pile was raised. Year after year hundreds of skilful hands must have been busy in dressing and fitting the stones and patiently fashioning those endless rows of sculptured panels which make the Borobudur one of the wonders of the world. The Parthenon of Asia, Mr. Havell has called it, and as regards height of artistic inspiration and skilful execution it may well be placed on a line with the famous shrine of the Akropolis. But what an enormous distance in religious feeling separates these two temples. In the friezes of the Parthenon all is activity, in the sculptures of the Borobudur all is repose.

"To compare them with the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon," Mr. Havell says,* "would serve no useful purpose, though as artistic achievements of the highest class the best Borobudur sculptures would not suffer by the comparison. There is as little kinship between the academic refinement of the Parthenon sculptures and this supremely devout and spontaneous art, as there is between Indian and Hellenic religious thought."

Whether the Borobudur was originally built to enshrine holy relics or whether it was raised to commemorate some real or imaginary event in the story of Buddhism we do not know. But manifestly the great monument of Java belongs to that most typical class of Buddhist buildings which originally served the pur-

* E. B. Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (London, 1908), p. 115.



FIG. I.—THE STŪPA OF BOROBUDUR.

pose of relic-shrines and which are indicated by the Sanskrit terms of *stūpa*, *chaitya*, and *dhātugarbha* (modern *dagoba*). As such, the Borobudur is undoubtedly a remote descendant of those early *stūpas* of Central India—the “Topes” of Bharhut and Sanchi. But at the same time it will be evident at a first glance that this very complicated edifice, rising in a number of terraces and crowned with a cluster of perforated *dagobas*, is very different from those simple hemispherical structures of Central India which derive their chief artistic interest from the stone railings and richly sculptured *torāṇas* which surround them.

It is true that in India proper and in Farther India we can trace the initial progress of a development—the original dome being raised on a succession of square platforms—which reaches its final stage in Borobudur. But no other edifice of exactly the same type is found on the Indian Continent nor, we must add, anywhere in the Archipelago. The Borobudur may, indeed, be called unique. In the Isle of Sumatra *stūpas* are found,* but of an entirely different class. The circumstance that in Java itself no other *stūpas* exist is very surprising, if we remember in how large number buildings of this kind used to be raised in all Buddhist countries.

Unique as the Borobudur may be called architecturally, its rich sculptural decoration, too, is unsurpassed by anything found in India proper. It is not only due to the wonderful vastness and the excellence of those

* H. Colijn, “Neerlands Indië” (Amsterdam, 1913), vol. I., p. 222.

hundreds of panels which adorn the walls and balustrades of the four long passages, through which the faithful, rising from terrace to terrace, performed the solemn perambulation of the sacred monument. It is, above all, the spirit of supreme repose, of serene calmness pervading them in which the Buddhist religious ideal finds so eloquent an expression.

When studying the ground-plan, we are struck by the grand harmony of the whole complicated structure. The body of the building consists of a succession of six square terraces, each side being relieved by a double projection. The lowest terrace is square, each side 497 feet long. The superstructure is formed by three circular platforms carrying as many rings of small *stūpas* or *dagobas*, thirty-two, twenty-four, and sixteen respectively in number, so that their total amounts to seventy-two. These *dagobas* are of a very peculiar type, not met with anywhere else. Instead of a solid dome, which is typical of such monuments in the Indian Continent, they present the appearance of a perforated, bell-shaped dome, each enshrining a Buddha image seated in the attitude of preaching the law (*dharma-chakra-mudrā*). The innermost ring of those cage-like shrines encloses a central *stūpa* considerably larger in size (52 feet in diameter) crowning the whole monument and originally surmounted with a lofty pinnacle.

The unadorned and plain character of the upper circular platforms is very striking if compared with the rich decoration which has so lavishly been applied to

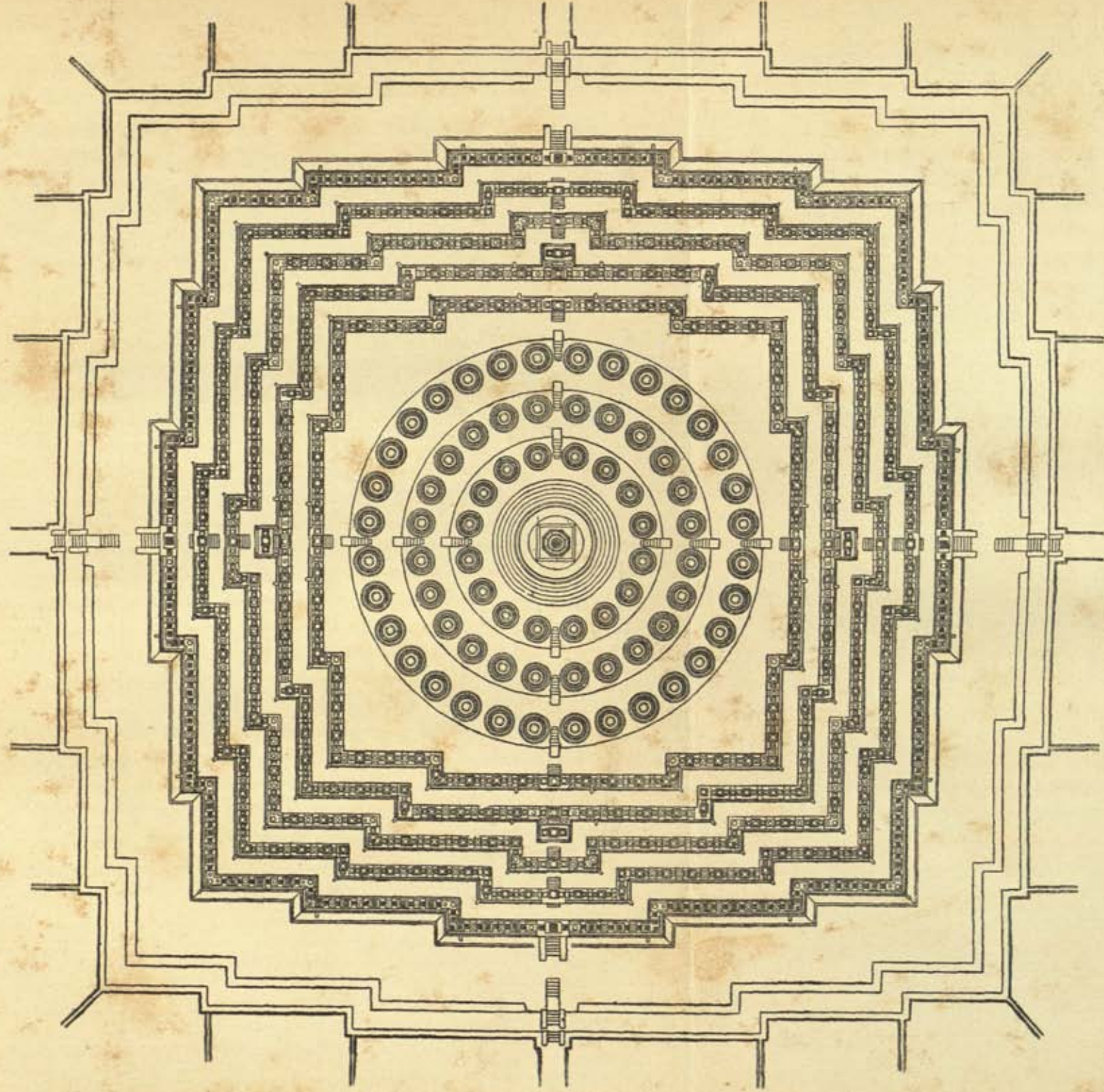


FIG. II.—THE GROUND PLAN OF BOROBUDUR.





the lower, square stories of the edifice. It has been conjectured that this contrast is intentional and has a symbolical meaning, the lower part of the monument representing the world of the senses and the upper portion relating to the realm of the mind.

The square terraces, too, are decorated with five superposed rows of life-sized Buddha figures, seated in richly sculptured niches. It has been recognised long ago that these images represent the celestial Buddhas of the Mahāyāna. Thus, on the east side of the monument there are no less than ninety-two figures of Akshobhya seated in the earth-touching attitude. On the south side there is the same number of images showing Ratnasambhava in the gift-bestowing pose. The west side is adorned with ninety-two images of Amitābha seated in the attitude of meditation, the right hand resting palm upwards on the left, both being on the lap. The north side has the same number of figures representing Amoghasiddha in the gesture of imparting protection, the right hand being raised and displayed palm outwards. The uppermost rows of Buddha figures, sixty-four in number, as well as the seventy-two images enclosed in the perforated *dagobas*, are believed to represent the fifth Dhyāni-Buddha, Vairochana. We thus arrive at a total of 504 Buddha images.

At the cardinal points four flights of steps lead up from terrace to terrace to the central *dagoba*, which evidently was the Holy of Holies of the whole shrine. They are embellished with magnificent gateways placed at the entrance of each terrace. However different in structure

and decoration from the well-known *toranas* of the early *stūpas* of Central India, the gateways of Borobudur have preserved one peculiar decorative element which is undoubtedly of Indian origin. The most salient feature of these gateways is the magnificent monster-head right over the entrance, which is regarded as an effigy of the terrible god Kāla, although, if traced back to its Indian prototypes, it is found to be primarily a lion's head. In fact, as such it is still known among the Dravidian architects of the Deccan.* Now, this so-called Kāla head, on which the Javanese artists have allowed their phantasy full play, is usually combined with another decorative element, likewise of Indian origin—namely, a pair of *makara* heads which are placed at the foot of both door jambs. The *Kāla-makara* motif, as the combined ornament is called by Dutch archaeologists, stands foremost among the decorative devices of Indo-Javanese art.

It is well known that the *makara* is a very favourite theme in the art of India, too, but different opinions have been expressed as to its original significance. Its curled-up proboscis suggests connection with the elephant, but in Indian literature the *makara* is invariably represented as an aquatic animal. We need only recall the amusing story of the *makara* Karālamukha and the monkey Raktamukha, which forms the framework of the fourth book of the *Pañchatantra* and which the Buddhists have adapted for purposes of edification and converted

* G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, "Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde" (Paris, 1914), vol. I., p. 61.



FIG. III.—GATEWAY OF BOROBUDUR.

into a *jātaka* or birth story.* On account of that strange combination of elephantine and fish-like properties, Professor Grünwedel designates the *makara* by the name of "sea-elephant."†

If, however, we trace the *makara* of Indian art back to its earliest prototypes, it becomes manifest that its origin is to be sought in an animal which certainly does not strike us as peculiarly decorative—namely, the crocodile. It is above the entrance of the Lomas Rishi cave of Bihār that we find the *makara* in its earliest traceable form, and here there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that it is the crocodile which the sculptor intended to portray. Now, however tempting it would be to follow the gradual metamorphosis from the natural animal of the early caves of India to the fantastical creature of Javanese art, it would exceed the limits of the present paper. Let me only say that the next stage in that development is found on the *torāṇas* of the famous *stūpa* of Bharhut, in Central India, where both ends of the triple architrave are decorated with *makaras*, still, on the whole, retaining their original character of crocodiles.‡

* The story is given in two *jātakas*—namely, the "Vānarinda-jātaka" and the "Sumsumāra-jātaka," which are Nos. 57 and 208 respectively of the Pali collection. Cf. E. B. Cowell, "The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births" (Cambridge, 1895-1913), vol. I., pp. 142 f., and vol. II., pp. 110-112.

† "Buddhist Art in India" (London, 1901), p. 57.

‡ Alexander Cunningham, "The Stūpa of Bharhut" (London, 1879), Plates VI. and IX. For the further development of the *makara* in Indian art, cf. H. Cousens, "The Makara in Hindu

It is, therefore, the *Kāla-makara* ornament which connects the gateways of Borobudur with Indian art. But for the rest it will be seen at a glance that this gateway differs from anything found in India proper. The very *Kāla-makara* ornament, though undoubtedly derived from elements of Indian art, is the outcome of an indigenous combination and development. Both this decorative device and the gateway which it adorns are not Indian, but Indo-Javanese, and the same may be said with regard to the monument to which they belong.

A survey of the illustrative sculptures will lead to the same conclusion. If, on ascending the sacred monument by the eastern flight of steps, we turn at once to the left and perform the perambulation, or *Pradakṣiṇā*, we have on our right hand a double series of sculptured panels. The upper row refers to the legend of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. This row of 120 reliefs does not end with the Master's death, or *Nirvāṇa*, as one would expect, but represents his life up to the moment of his first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares, where, to use the Buddhist phrase, he commenced turning the Wheel of the Law. At first sight it may seem strange that thus the latter half of the Buddha's life covering his whole activity as a wandering teacher of religion has been excluded from sculptural representation. It should, however, be borne in mind that the sculptors who

Ornament," *Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-1904 (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 227-231. Mr. Cousens' supposition that the development of the *makara* has been influenced by the rhinoceros and the tapir we find it somewhat difficult to accept.

carved these wonderful panels were not free in the choice of their subjects. It has been recognised that they closely followed certain sacred texts, and that in rendering the life-story of the Master it was the Sanskrit book "*Lalitavistara*" which they illustrated.* Now, that celebrated work does not contain the whole story of the Buddha's life. It dwells on the events of his childhood and youth, on the circumstances which resulted in his great Renunciation, and his adoption of the mendicant's mode of life which enabled him to find the Supreme Truth and thus acquire Bodhi or Spiritual Enlightenment.

It is this period of the Buddha's life which we find illustrated in the 120 sculptured panels of the Borobudur with a fulness of detail unequalled by anything we know in India proper, with the sole exception of the Græco-Buddhist school which flourished in Gandhāra (the present Peshawar District) in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is, indeed, to this early phase of Indian sculpture that we have to revert in order to find the first prototypes of many a well-known scene from the Buddha's life. But it will be seen that the Javanese sculptors, although religiously following the sacred texts and the examples fixed by tradition, were by no means slavish imitators of their Indian predecessors. In picturing animal and vegetable life, in portraying palaces and dwellings of a more humble description, in rendering dress, ornaments, arms, and accoutrements—in fact, in all that relates to everyday human existence—they

* C. M. Pleyte, "*Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Borobudur*" (Amsterdam, 1901).

allowed themselves to be guided by what they observed in their own Javanese surroundings. It is not only all this wealth of detail which bears a peculiar indigenous stamp; it is the whole style of these sculptures which has a character of its own.

Besides the 120 *tableaux* which relate to the life of the Buddha, there are several other series of sculptured panels which cover the whole surface of the walls along the four galleries. Again we are reminded of the *stūpa* of Bharhut, when we find that the balustrade of the first gallery is adorned with a number of *jātakas* or birth-stories relating to the previous existences of the Buddha. It is not, however, the Pali "Jātaka" book which the sculptors have followed, but the "Jātakamālā," one of the most famous Buddhist books written in Sanskrit.* The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing testifies to the popularity of this book in the Indian Archipelago. "There are more than ten islands in the Southern Sea," he says;† "where both priests and laymen recite the 'Jātakamālā.'"

The total number of sculptured panels which decorate the walls and balustrades along the four galleries amounts to not less than 1,300.‡ The basement was

* "The Jātakamālā," by Āryaśūra, edited by Dr. H. Kern, *Harvard Oriental Series* (Boston, Mass., 1891). "The Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories," translated from the Sanskrit by J. S. Speyer, "Sacred Books of the Buddhists" (London, 1895).

† I-tsing, "Records of the Buddhist Religion" (ed. Takakusu), p. 163.

‡ If placed side by side, the sculptures of the Borobudur would extend for three miles.



FIG. IV.—BODHISATTVA OF CHAṆḌĪ MĒNDUT.

embellished with 160 more reliefs, but these are no longer visible, as this part of the building was encased even before the sculptural decoration had been completed. Obviously this encasement was made on account of a threatening destructive subsistence. Some of the reliefs on the basement are provided with short inscriptions, evidently merely for the guidance of the masons and not meant for permanent record. These scribblings, however, are important, as they afford palæographical evidence enabling epigraphists to assign an approximate date to the monument on which they are found. On that evidence Professor Krom assumes that the Borobudur was built in the second half of the eighth century of our era.

Besides the Borobudur, there are other early Buddhist shrines which would deserve a detailed description, but in the present paper can only briefly be mentioned. Not far from the great monument there are two temples, Chaṇḍi Mēndut and Chaṇḍi Pawon, of which the former in particular excels by its architectural and decorative qualities.* It enshrines three images of great beauty; the central one shows the historical Buddha in the act of preaching his first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares, as is indicated by the pose of his hands (*dharmachakramudrā*) and by the symbol of the wheel and the two antelopes at his feet. These symbols are manifestly derived from Indian art, as is also the case with the

* B. Kersjes and G. den Hamer, "De Tjandi Mēndoet vóór de restauratie." Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia—The Hague, 1903).

decorative details of the throne on which the Buddha is seated: the *vyāḷaka*, or leogryph, standing on the top of an elephant couchant, which on both sides supports the projecting ends of the transom, the latter being embellished with the usual two *makara* heads.*

The colossal images themselves, wonderfully placid in their divine majesty, are to be reckoned among the great masterpieces which Buddhist art has produced. They will stand comparison with the best works of the Gupta age.†

A third Buddhist sanctuary which deserves special mention is the temple of Kalasan, which excels by the wealth of its decoration, but unfortunately it is in a very ruinous condition. There can be little doubt that this is the very temple dedicated to the goddess Tārā, the erection of which is recorded in the Sanskrit inscription of the Śaka year 700, to which reference has been made above.

We must now turn our attention to a highly interesting group of temples which are scattered over the lonely and inhospitable plateau of Dyeng, 6,500 feet above the sea. There are in reality five distinct groups of temples, some well preserved, others mere heaps of stone. It is well known that in India proper the origin of ancient temples is often ascribed by popular tradition to the five

* *Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India for 1903-1904*, p. 216.

† Havell, "The Ideals of Indian Art" (London, 1911). Plate II. gives a good reproduction of the Avalokiteśvara image of Chaṇḍi Mēndut (not of Borobudur, as stated in the text).



FIG. V.—CHAṆḌĪ BHĪMA.

Pāṇḍavas. The best known instance is afforded by that group of rock-cut shrines on the Madras coast, which are designated as the *raths* of Dharmarāja, Bhīma, Arjuna, Sahadeva, and their common spouse, Draupadī. They belong to the seventh century of our era.*

Now, it is not a little curious that in Java exactly the same thing has happened. Nothing certainly can better serve to demonstrate the celebrity which those heroes of the great Indian epic have acquired on Javanese soil than the fact that among those ancient temples of the Dyeng plateau the most prominent have been named after them. Thus we have Chaṇḍi Puntadeva (a Javanese name for Yudhishtira), Chaṇḍi Bhīma or Vrēkedara, and Chaṇḍi Arjuna. As in the *Wayang*, or shadow-show, that highly popular entertainment of the Javanese, those heroes of ancient India are invariably accompanied by the clowns Sēmar and his two sons, it is not surprising to find that some of the smaller and more ruined temples of the Dyeng group are indicated by the names of those truly Indonesian satellites of the Pāṇḍavas. It goes without saying that the present names of the Dyeng temples, such as Chaṇḍi Bhīma and Chaṇḍi Arjuna, however interesting from a folklorist point of view, do not give any clue as to their origin and history.† We may conclude from the numerous images found on the spot that they are Brahmanical, and that they must once have been dedi-

* Fergusson, "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," Revised edition (London, 1910), vol. I., pp. 327 ff.

† Cf. the author's "Two Notes on Javanese Archaeology," *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1917, pp. 371-376.

cated to the worship of Śiva. It is this cultus which throughout the Hindu period of Javanese history was the form of Hinduism prevailing in the island side by side with Buddhism. In the course of time both religions became curiously blended.

Śiva was worshipped in Java under different forms, but preferably at Bhaṭāra Guru. He is then represented as a Brahmanical ascetic, bearded and corpulent, carrying a rosary and a water-pot.* This form appears to be peculiar to the Hinduism of the Archipelago.

What strikes us most in those Brahmanical temples is not only the classical harmony of their style, but also the great simplicity of their decoration. In this respect they present a remarkable contrast to the Buddhist temple of Kalasan. It would, however, be wrong on that account to assign them to an earlier period. From inscriptions found on the spot we may safely assume that they were built about A.D. 800, and consequently must be nearly contemporaneous with the Kalasan temple.

Here we are faced with another interesting question. Is it possible to connect these earliest Brahmanical temples of Java with any particular style of architecture known from the Indian Continent? We may state at once that there exists a structural principle which the Javanese temples have in common with the Hindu temples of India proper. They are built on the horizontal or corbelling principle—in other words, without either

* H. Colijn, "Neerlands Indië," vol. I., p. 225. Krom, "Inleiding," Plate 19a. H. H. Juynboll, "Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum" (Leiden, 1909), pp. 9-12, Plate III., Fig. 1.

arch or vault.* This mode of construction obviously excludes the possibility of covering over vast interior spaces, the great problem of Western architecture.

But apart from this common formative principle, these Javanese temples present a style wholly different from that of the well-known temple-towers of Northern India. It was supposed by Fergusson that there existed close relations between Javanese and Chalukyan architecture. But this has been disproved by later investigators. It appears that it is the Dravidian style which shows a certain affinity with the early temple architecture of Java.† Here again, therefore, the evidence points to South Indian influence. If, however, we compare the earliest known examples of Dravidian architecture—namely, the temples of Māmallapuram near Madras (the so-called “Seven Pagodas”), it will be seen at a glance that the difference is more striking than the similarity. At first sight it may seem surprising that the early Javanese temples are so different in style from anything known in India proper. It should, however, be remembered that these temples, although the earliest surviving specimens of Hindu-Javanese architecture, are separated by more than three centuries from the rock-inscriptions in Sanskrit which prove the existence of Hindu settlers in Western Java. In other words, we may consider the

* James Fergusson, “History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.” Revised edition (London, 1910), vol. I., pp. 310 ff. In Javanese architecture we notice, moreover, the absence of pillars.

† J. W. Yzerman, “De Chalukyasche bouwstijl op den Diëng” (Album Kern (Leiden, 1903), pp. 287 ff).

Dyeng temples as the outcome of a long period of building activity of which unfortunately no specimens have been preserved. In the construction of their temples, as well as in the building of their great *stūpa*, the Javanese architects must have followed the guidance of their own genius. There can be little doubt that, when Hindu civilisation was first introduced into the island, it was the task of Indian architects and sculptors to teach the Javanese both the art of stone architecture and stone sculpture. They met with pupils singularly gifted for artistic effort, and, indeed, it may be said that the Javanese, although not perhaps possessed of the same depth of religious feeling, soon surpassed their masters in the works of art.

Javanese excellence in plastic art is not only proved by the admirable reliefs of Borobudur, but also by another magnificent series of sculptured *tableaux* which illustrate the story of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Although on the Indian Continent there is no story more beloved and no poem more renowned than Vālmīki's epic, yet it is on the Javanese temple of Prambanan that Rāma's adventures have been carved in stone in a manner unequalled by anything found in the Indian homeland.

The Rāma reliefs which are found on the Hazāra Rāmaswāmi temple of Vijayanagar have been described as "beautifully executed and carved with great life and spirit."* But how childish and insipid are those sculp-

* V. A. Smith, "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon" (Oxford, 1911), p. 230 and Plate XLVII.



FIG. VI.—RĀMA RELIEF FROM PRAMBANAN.

tures compared with the rendering of the same subject by the Javanese artist. Whereas the Borobudur sculptures are supreme in rendering the Buddhist ideal of mental repose, those of Prambanan picture the heroic deeds of the divine Rāma with great vigour and perfect lucidity. Mr. Havell, while reproducing several of the Prambanan reliefs, rightly refers to them in terms of high praise.*

As regards their interpretation, a great deal of research still remains to be done. Neither Dr. Grone-man, who published a portfolio of excellent plates relating to the Prambanan sculptures,† nor Mr. Havell, who relied too much on the previous author, have succeeded in every case in offering wholly satisfactory explanations. This is largely due to the circumstance that the sculptors to whom we owe this wonderful series of carved pictures do not appear to have followed any written text, as did their brethren who adorned the Borobudur. The story of Rāma, as illustrated at Prambanan, differs in many details both from the text of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa and from its Old-Javanese adaptation. May we not assume that the Javanese artists, in rendering a subject so universally known and eminently popular, did not require a written text to guide their chisel but could rely entirely on their imagination? It is this circumstance which would account for that wonderful vividness and vigour of expression by which the Prambanan sculptures excel.

* E. B. Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting" (London, 1908), pp. 132 ff., Plates XXXIX-XL.

† J. Groneman, "Tjandi Parambanan op Midden-Java" (The Hague, 1893).

Let us take the first relief of the series. It shows the four-armed god Vishṇu reclining on the World-serpent Śeṣha in the midst of the waters of the Ocean which is peopled with manifold aquatic animals. The god is attended by his faithful satellite and vehicle, the giant-bird Garuḍa, who already has assumed that fantastic form which we find further developed in Javanese and Balinese art. So far the description of the relief does not offer any difficulty.

The right-hand side of the panel is occupied by a group of seated figures in royal attire, headed by a bearded personage, who stretches forth his hands in an attitude of supplication. This group has been variously interpreted. Yet, in our opinion, there can be little doubt that it represents the gods headed by Brahmā who approach Vishṇu, the supreme deity, and beseech him to incarnate himself in Rāma, so that he may save the world from the terrible giant-king Rāvaṇa.

Now, it is interesting that this opening scene of the Rāma story differs from the version both of the Sanskrit and Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, but agrees in a remarkable way with the corresponding passage in Kālidāsa's "Raghuvamśa."

I must abstain from a detailed description of the further *tableaux* in which the adventures of the divine hero are so admirably told. I wish, however, not to abandon the subject without having called attention to the eminently humorous manner in which the Javanese sculptors have rendered the monkey-hero Hanuman. Whether that humour was intentional it is now impos-

sible to decide, but it must be admitted that the artist has marvellously succeeded in portraying the divine ape in his various moods.

The twenty-four panels of the Rāmāyaṇa series, several of which comprise two or more scenes, decorate the inner face of the balustrade which encloses the chief temple of the Prambanan group. This temple is consecrated to Śiva, and still contains the stone image of that deity. To the right and left of the chief sanctuary there are temples of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, so that the whole group was devoted to the worship of the Triad or Trimūrti, Śiva taking the central and chief place. The last one of the twenty-four Rāmāyaṇa panels shows in a very graphic manner the building of the famous dyke to Lankā (Ceylon) by Rāma's faithful allies, the host of monkeys. Presumably the story was continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahmā temple, but of that ruined monument only detached fragments have been recovered. The balustrade of the Viṣṇu temple is decorated with a series of relieves illustrating the Kṛishṇa legend, which have not yet been published.

The monuments of Hindu-Javanese art so far described—the great *stūpa* of Borobudur and contemporaneous Buddhist shrines, the Brahmanical temples of the Dyeng and of Prambanan—all belong to Central Java. They cover a period of wellnigh two centuries (*circa* A.D. 700-*circa* 900). About A.D. 900 the building activity in the central part of the island suddenly ceases. Was this abrupt cessation of the golden age of Javanese

art history due to political revolutions or to one of those catastrophes of nature such as not infrequently befall that highly volcanic country? The question cannot be answered.

This much is certain, that shortly afterwards Hindu-Javanese art revived in Eastern Java. Prominent among the princes who held residence in this part of the island is in the first place King Airlanga (born in A.D. 991) of the Dharmavaṃśa Dynasty. His career is told in two extensive inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kawi which are engraved on both sides of a large slab, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum.*

First it is the kingdom of Kēdiri, then that of Tumapēl or Singhasāri, and finally that of Majapahit which becomes the centre of political power. During the reign of its most illustrious king, Hayam Wuruk, the state of Majapahit extended its sway over the Malay Archipelago from Northern Sumatra as far as New Guinea, thus covering the whole area of the present Netherlands-India. It was at the court of this king that the poet Prapañcha composed the panegyric "Nāgarakrētāgama," in which he extols the power of his royal patron (A.D. 1365).

This silver age of Hindu-Javanese art has produced many works of great excellence. But in the present paper it would be out of place to deal with them in detail. During this period we find Javanese plastic art

* The Calcutta Museum contains also several Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures from Java. Cf. J. Anderson, "Catalogue of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum" (Calcutta, 1883), Part II., pp. 190-195 and 355-363.



FIG. VII.—RĀKSHASA FROM CHAṆḌĪ SEVU.

steadily moving farther away from the art of India from which it took its origin. Most of all this is evidenced by the reliefs which decorate some of the temples of Eastern Java, especially Chaṇḍi Jago and Chaṇḍi Panataran. These sculptures present a type altogether different from that of the earlier period. It is the purely indigenous, the true Indonesian style which here has gained the ascendancy.

Here we find the same fantastic spirit which reveals itself in those grotesque, and yet in their quaintness so highly decorative, puppets of the Javanese shadow-show. The difference in feeling between this *Wayang* style and that of the classical period of Indo-Javanese art can in no way be better demonstrated than by comparing the sculptured panels of Chaṇḍi Panataran in Eastern Java with those of Prambanan which, as we saw, belong to the best that the classical age has produced.* Both illustrate the story of the divine hero Rāma with equal love of detail, but how widely different is the manner of expression.

Mr. Havell, in speaking of the Rāmāyaṇa series of Prambanan, says:† "The extravagant fables of the exploits of Rāma's monkey allies are told almost in the spirit of burlesque, and the imagination of the sculptors sometimes runs wild in trying to depict the horrors of the trackless jungles and their demon inhabitants." What would the distinguished art critic

* Brandes, "Beschrijving von Tjandi Singasari" (1909), Plates 28*, 29*, and 30*.

† "Indian Sculpture and Painting," p. 133, Plates XXXIX. and XI..

have said with reference to the Rāmāyaṇa scenes of Panataran? Those of Prambanan certainly might be said to display a remarkable restraint, if compared with those legions of capricious shapes which haunt the pictured temple walls of Panataran. "Cloud scenes" is the appellation applied to them by a Dutch archæologist, and the name is appropriate. For in all these scenes we find the quaint and curious figures of divine warriors, threatening demons, and super-apes mingled with decorative clouds in infinite variety of fantastic form.

It is very remarkable that, whereas the exterior sculptural decoration of these temples of Eastern Java thus exhibits a truly Indonesian type, the images enshrined in the sanctum and niches of those same shrines continue the classical Hindu-Javanese style of Central Java.* This circumstance has led some archæologists to assume that the exterior was decorated by Javanese artists in their own style, whilst the images were fashioned by sculptors from the Indian Continent. This assumption seems to receive some measure of corroboration from the fact that several of these images bear inscriptions (denoting their respective names) in the Nāgarī character.† Professor Krom, however, rightly points out that, if indeed Indian artists had come over to Java to carve these images, they would undoubtedly

* See the Buddhist statues reproduced in Dr. Brandes' "Tjandi Djago" (1904).

† It may be observed that in India proper images hardly ever bear inscriptions mentioning the names of the deities which they represent.

have produced works of art similar to those which in their days were in vogue on the Indian Continent. This is by no means the case. Manifestly the divine images of Eastern Java exhibit a style not found anywhere in India proper. In fact, this silver age of Hindu-Javanese art coincides with that period of Indian history which witnessed the decline and fall of ancient Hindu civilisation and the ascendancy of Muslim power. Let us only remember that Airlanga, the first great ruler of Eastern Java, was a contemporary of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazni, the notorious iconoclast who wrought havoc among the temples of Northern India. The reign of Hayam Wuruk, greatest among the monarchs of Majapahit, almost exactly coincides with that of Sultan Firoz Shāh of the Tughlaq Dynasty, of whom numerous monuments still exist in and around the capital of India. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Empires of Singhasāri and Majapahit flourished in Eastern Java, was the period when the victorious Muslim rulers of India raised their proud mosques and mausoleums on the ruins of Hindu temples.

We shall, therefore, have to assume that during the period of East Javanese art there existed two distinct styles of sculpture side by side. The one school continued the great traditions of the Indo-Javanese art of Central Java, the other derived its inspiration from purely Indonesian sources. Perhaps the latter school, too, did not in reality evolve an entirely new style, but simply imitated in stone what during past centuries it had been the custom to carve in wood. It goes without

saying that in the damp climate of Java any wood carving that may have existed in the centuries previous to A.D. 1000 must have perished long ago.

In this connection let me quote a very remarkable work of art in which we find those two styles, the Indo-Javanese and the Indonesian, combined in the most surprising fashion. It is the Gaṇeśa image of Bara. The front of this sculpture exhibits the familiar effigy of the god of good luck, not different, indeed, in general appearance, in pose, and attributes from the well-known Indian type, yet showing a very distinct style and an artistic superiority to most of its Indian counterparts. It is an excellent example of the Indo-Javanese style of Eastern Java.

Now, if we proceed to examine the back of the Gaṇeśa, we shall be almost startled in finding ourselves face to face with an elaborately carved monster-head in true Indonesian fashion. Whereas the Gaṇeśa image proper, however rich in its decoration, exhibits a perfect restraint and portrays the quaint shape of the elephant-headed god in almost divine serenity, the back exhibits that capricious and yet artistic fantasy which is characteristic of the Indonesian style. It is true that it is not exactly a figure of the *Wayang* type which we see before us. It is, after all, the same Kāla head which we noticed over the gateways of Borobudur. It is, therefore, in reality a *motif* Indian in its origin, but which after centuries of independent development has at last evolved a type of sculpture wholly Indonesian.

The Javanese mind has a distinct predilection for



FIG. VIII.—GAṆEŚA FROM BARA.

creating demons and monsters, either in human shape or showing a mixture of human and animal forms. In this genre, allowing full scope to the artist's imagination, the art of Java exceeds all that the Indian homeland has produced. The temples of Java are usually guarded by Rākshasas, stone giants with goggle-eyes, thick moustaches, and tusks. Armed with sword or mace, their obese body encircled with snakes, they are kneeling or standing as frightful guardians of the holy entrance. On the modern Western mind these bulky demons will possibly make a more comic than horrifying impression, but they must have been objects of terror among a population which believed in the real existence of such uncouth creatures.

Another favourite subject of the ancient sculptors of Java is the eagle of Vishṇu, the giant bird Garuḍa. In the early art of India the Garuḍa has the appearance of a bird of prey, but in medieval sculpture we find him often rendered as a male figure characterised by a curved bird's beak. From this Indian prototype the Javanese artists have evolved a magnificent monster, mainly human in shape but with a protruding snout, its wings, feathery tail, and talons still recalling its bird origin.

On the first Rāma relief of Prambanan we noticed such a Garuḍa as Vishṇu's satellite. But a Garuḍa of a much fiercer type is presented by the wonderful Vishṇu image of Bēlahan, one of the earliest and at the same time one of the best sculptures of Eastern Java. In a most striking manner the artist who fashioned this grand composition has expressed the contrast between the

savage Garuḍa, with his hog-like head, threatening the Nāgas whom he has seized with his claw-shaped feet, and the supreme deity, the four-armed Viṣṇu, enthroned on his lotus-seat in undisturbed repose and serene contemplation. Is it not mind ruling supremely over the lower passions, or, to speak in Indian terms, is it not *Sattva* in its superiority over *Rajas* and *Tamas*? Whatever thoughts may have inspired the Javanese artist to fashion this masterpiece, I know of no Indian effigy of Viṣṇu which equals it.*

The Viṣṇu image of Bělahan, apart from its great artistic merit, possesses a special historical interest. We must here refer to a custom which prevailed in ancient Java and which, as far as we know, was truly indigenous. In India proper, at any rate, there is no evidence of its existence. From the Old-Javanese chronicles we learn that when a king had died and his body had been cremated, it was the custom to raise a temple over his ashes and to enshrine in it a divine image representing a certain god, usually a Buddha or Śiva, but with the deceased king's features. The monarch, divine in origin and essence, had become reabsorbed into the deity from which he sprang.

Of course, the conception of the king as a divine being is by no means exclusively Javanese. It belongs to the Orient in general, and it is well known that, when

* In the first number of *Rūpam* (January, 1920) the image in question is reproduced side by side with a late medieval sculpture from Varendra representing the same subject. Nothing certainly could more clearly bring out the superiority of Javanese plastic art than the juxtaposition of these two sculptures.



FIG. IX.—VISHṆU ON GARUḌA FROM BĒLAHAN.

Greek civilisation had conquered the Near East and in their turn Eastern ideas pervaded the West, one of them was the divinity of the king. In India, too, the idea prevailed, it being set forth at some length in the well-known Law-book of Manu (VII., 3-11). On the Indian Continent, however, the conception of kings as divine beings does not appear to have led to a custom of showing them in the semblance of gods such as we find in Java. On the whole, portrait statues of kings are extremely rare in Indian art, as the only known instances are the stone images of Kanishka and two other princes of the Kushāṇa Dynasty, which have come to light in the neighbourhood of Mathurā, and are now preserved in the local museum. If we are to credit the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing,* statues of the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka must have existed in his days in India, but no example as yet has come to light.

Now, to return to the Vishṇu image of Bēlahan, the evidence afforded by Old-Javanese sources has led Professor Krom to the conclusion that in all probability it is a portrait-statue of Airlanga, the first great king of Eastern Java, shown in his apotheosis as the god Vishṇu mounted on Garuḍa.

As in the Archipelago the cultus of Vishṇu always occupied a secondary place compared with Buddhism or the worship of Śiva, it is more usual to find the deified kings of Eastern Java assume the shape of either Śiva or of one of the Bodhisattvas or Dhyāni-Buddhas

* "A Record of the Buddhist Religion" (transl. Takakusu),
p. 73.

of the Mahāyāna. Thus the Chaṇḍi Jago has been identified as the sepulchral temple of Viṣṇuvardhana, the most prominent king of Singhasāri, who died in A.D. 1268. Consequently the much mutilated image of the Lokeśvara Amoghapāśa (a form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), which is found in that temple, must be an effigy of that great king of Eastern Java. In the "Nāgara-kṛtāgama" (41, 4), it is mentioned that he was worshipped here as Buddha and elsewhere—namely, at Waleri—as Śiva.

There is even an instance of a Javanese monarch—it was the foolish Kṛtānagara, the last king of Singhasāri, who was murdered in the year 1292—being adored in one and the same temple both as Śiva and Buddha. The frivolous potentate was denoted by the posthumous name of Śiva-Buddha!

Kṛtānagara was succeeded by his son-in-law, Vijaya, who after his accession in 1294 assumed the name of Kṛtarājasa. According to Dr. Bosch, we may recognise a portrait-statue of this first king of Majapahit in the beautiful image which originally must have stood in the sepulchral temple of Simping, and which now is considered the finest piece of sculpture in the archaeological collection of the Batavia Museum.* The chronicle states that in the sepulchral temple an image of the king was erected in the semblance of Śiva. Now, it must be admitted that on account of its attributes, the mace and the conch (the latter shown as a snail!) one would feel inclined to identify it as a Viṣṇu image.

* Havell, "Indian Sculpture and Painting," Plate XXVI.

If, indeed, it is meant for Śiva, it must be admitted that the Javanese artist has allowed himself a great deal of freedom in iconographical matters. To meet the difficulty, archæologists have designated it Hari-Hara—viz., a combination of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

However, there can be no two opinions as regards the great artistic merit of this masterpiece of Javanese art. In its attitude, which has preserved an archaic symmetry and rigidity far removed from all conventionalism and stiffness, the image expresses a truly royal dignity. The limbs are decked with a wonderful wealth of ornaments—a high tiara, elaborate ear-pendants, and a multitude of various necklaces and bracelets. The lower part of the body is clad in a richly embroidered *sarong*. On both sides of the divine image there rise lotus-stalks with well-rendered leaves, ending above in a number of flowers and buds which are visible to the right and left of the king's head. This kind of naturalistic lotus ornament, which is typical of East Javanese sculpture, is very effective and adds not a little to the decorative splendour of the statue. In sculptures of the Majapahit period those lotuses usually rise from two flower-vases placed on both sides at the feet of the image, whereas in the earlier art of Singhasāri they are shown springing from bulbs. In the present instance the two flower-pots are concealed, as it were, behind the two female attendants which, considerably smaller in size than the royal image, presumably represent the two chief queens of King Krētarājasa.

The Batavia Museum contains a four-armed female

image which shows a marked affinity with the so-called Hari-Hara of Simping. It is of exactly the same size (height 2 m.), and very similar in style and workmanship. There can be little doubt that both statues were carved by the same master. The female image, which exhibits an equally elaborate ornamentation as her male counterpart, has been identified long ago as the goddess Pārvatī. But there is good reason to assume that here, too, we have in reality a royal statue, portraying a queen of King Krētarājasa, perhaps the Parameśvarī Tribhuvanā, in her glorified state as the divine spouse of Śiva. In this sculpture the graceful lotuses rising from flower-vases add a singular charm to the stately figure of the Javanese queen.

There is another, earlier example of a statue which is supposed to represent a queen of Eastern Java in deified shape. It is the famous Prajñāpāramitā of the Leiden Museum. This charming statuette (height 1 m. 26) has often been reproduced, and is, indeed, one of the best-known masterpieces of Javanese art. It expresses divine majesty like the Pārvatī image mentioned above, but adds to it heavenly grace. Mr. Havell,* who gives an excellent reproduction of it, describes it as "one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern or Western."

It has been conjectured that the Prajñāpāramitā, while rendering the Buddhist ideal of Supreme Wisdom in her divine shape, is intended at the same time to be the posthumous statue of a Javanese queen. Perhaps the lady who thus has become absorbed in the Buddhist

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 f. and Plate XIV.



FIG. X.—HARI HARA FROM SIMPING.



FIG. XI.—PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ FROM SINGHASĀRI.

goddess of Transcendental Wisdom was Queen Dēdēs, the consort of Rājasa, first king of Singhasāri. In the year 1222 this monarch defeated the last ruler of Kēdiri in the battle of Gantēr, and thus became the founder of a new dynasty. The sculpture would then belong to the second quarter of the thirteenth century of our era.

The image of Prajñāpāramitā seems an auspicious subject to form a fit conclusion to the present lecture. This admirable sculpture shows how high a standard of excellence Hindu-Javanese art has maintained even during the later period of its history. Within the compass of a single lecture it is impossible to describe the numerous monuments which that art has produced in the course of the seven or eight centuries of its existence. We have had to confine ourselves to a brief survey of some of the most prominent works of architecture and sculpture. I hope that this account, however imperfect, may have served to convey some idea of the high qualities of Javanese art and of its chief characteristics. In the first place, it has been our endeavour to demonstrate that, although this art primarily derived its inspiration from India, and throughout its history was intimately associated with Indian religions, the Javanese architects and sculptors very soon departed from the examples set by their Hindu teachers and freely followed their own national genius. It is, therefore, really a misnomer to refer to the art of Java as "Indian" art, however closely the two may be related in choice of subject and religious inspiration.

In India proper triumphant Islām became destructive

to numberless sanctuaries of the native religions of the country, but in its turn it adorned the great cities of Hindustan with many a priceless mausoleum and mosque. In Java the Muslims, while establishing their religion in a far less violent manner, left the shrines and idols of the ancient creeds undisturbed, but did not initiate a great art, as they had done in India. It is only in the minor arts that the Indonesian craftsman still shows his skill and artistic talent.

The religious monuments of the Hindu-Javanese period subsist as the greatest that the national genius of Java, inspired by Indian ideals, has been able to produce.

J. PH. VOGEL.

INDIAN INFLUENCE ON FAR EASTERN ART

Nothing is more dependent on personal feeling and insight than the problem whether, and, if so, in what degree, one province of art has exercised an influence on another section of the artistic domain. The student of art can hardly be too scrupulous in questions arising from the possibility of one special art having been influenced by another, and should, from the very beginning, point out whether, in speaking of influences, he means only the iconographic, the more or less superficial resemblances, or the analogies that are not only of an iconographic, but also of a really artistic nature.

It will be wise to confine ourselves to the second category of influences, not only because resemblances between Indian and Far Eastern art of the purely iconographic kind are so abundant that they would supply us with the material for many volumes, but especially because the way of treating influences that concern, mainly, essentially æsthetic questions and not only subject matter in art seems to be more attractive and more in harmony with the aims of the India Society than investigations of the purely iconographic kind.

In this lecture we shall confine ourselves to visual art, or, to use the old-fashioned term, the fine arts, of certain parts of Asia.

In the second place, we shall speak of Buddhist art, as, with minor exceptions, Indian influence on Far Eastern art concerns only one category of that art—namely, Buddhist art in China, Japan, and Korea.

Furthermore, it is proposed, in studying influences on Far Eastern art, to pay special attention to China. Indian influences on Far Eastern art first took shape in China. The more or less direct connections between India and the Far East are connections between India and China. Hence it follows that almost everything Indian, brought to Japan and Korea, found its way through the Celestial Empire.

The Chinese monuments, which supply us with the style-elements needed for this lecture, have, what we might call, chronological and geographical advantages over similar Japanese and Korean monuments. In the cave-temples of Tun-hwang, Yun-kang and Lung-men, and in the sculptural remains of South China (especially of Sze-chw'an), we find invaluable series for the study of style-development in Far Eastern Buddhist art. These series can be examined in their geographical relation to India. They bear, moreover, many dated inscriptions, and can therefore also be determined chronologically.

In Japan and Korea, Indian influences are, as we have said, of an indirect nature, China being the intermediary. The dates of the Japanese series that constitute parallels to Chinese Buddhist art from North-Wei to the middle of T'ang cannot be so easily determined as the works in China. The fact that Japanese

parallel works must of necessity be of later date than their models in China renders it rather difficult to apply our methods of style-criticism to the Japanese monuments instead of to the Chinese. The Japanese works of the Suiko and Nara periods, which otherwise might have been welcomed as of valuable assistance in our investigations, are works in bronze, wood and clay, which are naturally not in such close relationship to the Japanese wooden temples in which they are found as are the Chinese works in stone to the rock-cut temples of which they are the very "building-stones."

In one respect, however, the Japanese monuments of the Suiko and Nara periods are of much greater value than the Chinese Buddhist works from North-Wei to the middle of T'ang. From the artistic point of view, the quality that early Buddhist art in China must have once attained should be judged according to the Japanese works, and, with some exceptions, *not* according to the Chinese. Japan, for many reasons, has been so fortunate as to preserve invaluable monuments which convey to us the noble splendour and subtlety of early Far Eastern Buddhist art.* China, on the contrary, must have lost in her many wars, and through different troubles, and on account of her climate, her best early Buddhist art. In the year A.D. 845, for instance, thousands of Buddhist temples were destroyed by order of the Emperor Wu Tsung.† What China

* These monuments have not suffered from the earthquake of September 1923.

† See Arthur Waley, "Chinese Temple Paintings," *The Burlington Magazine*, November 1922.

has left us of her early Buddhist art is, with some exceptions, the work of artisans, not of artists.

Let us repeat that we shall base our investigations on the Chinese materials, which are, with few exceptions, more or less coarse, and not on the Japanese, which are, for a greater part, refined and make a strong emotional appeal.

It has been said that Indian influence on Far Eastern art concerns, with minor exceptions, only one category of that art—namely, Buddhist art.* This is such an important fact that it merits our most earnest attention.

It moreover implies that there existed in China more

* These "minor exceptions"—e.g., the stone column of the Liang Dynasty (A.D. 502-557), see p. 86, do *not* refer to works of art made before the period of the earliest Buddhist art known in China (at Yun-kang, second half of the fifth century A.D.). It can hardly be believed that there has been an Indian influence on Chinese art long before the fifth century, as is the opinion of Professor Conrady, who thinks that Indian influence dates back to the Han period.

Professor Conrady writes ("Indischer Einfluss in China," *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, 1906, p. 347): "... die Schantung Skulpturen (sind) trotz Chavannes' gegenteiliger Behauptung, reich an Indischen Motiven."

Cf., Arthur Waley, "An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting," p. 23, note 1. Concerning the earliest Buddhist Art in China, Professor Foucher ("L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra," II, 2, 1922) writes (p. 661-662): "C'est sous la dynastie tangoute des Ts'in antérieurs qu'un moine chinois dédie, en 366, la première des 'mille grottes' et sans doute aussi le premier des 'mille Buddhas' de Touen-houang. . . . En somme les bas-reliefs et statues de Yun-kang, exécutés entre 450 et 500, restent les plus anciens monuments actuellement connus de l'art bouddhique en Chine, et il est douteux qu'on en découvre jamais qui soient antérieurs au IV^e siècle."

or less foreign North-Wei, Sui, and T'ang Buddhist styles side by side with autochthonous styles.

The most striking examples of the existence of these two styles side by side in one work are some Buddhist paintings of Tun-hwang, in which donors and other personages are often painted in native styles.

These highly cultivated Chinese styles are, of course, the result of a long process of development in which, as far as the art of painting is concerned, the well-known engraved Han stones—in which we should see artisan interpretations of Han paintings, of which nothing has survived*—are milestones, as also the style of the Ku K'ai-chi scroll in the British Museum.

But we know Chinese documents of a more ancient magnificent plastic art. We still possess, in our twentieth century, Chinese bronzes of most impressive form dating at least as far back as the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

These bronzes are so masterly, and decorated with such brilliant and intricate ornament, that some students of art share the opinion that the best old Chinese bronzes belong to the grandest works of art ever created in Asia.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that before Buddhist art of foreign influence was introduced into China in the fifth century A.D., that country could look back upon a powerful autochthonous art development

*- See for post-Han painting on vases and bronze bowls Arthur Waley, "An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting," p. 38-39.

of an intensely high standard. This fact must never be forgotten when examining Chinese Buddhist art.

* * * * *

In pursuing our investigations concerning Indian influence on Chinese art, we are confronted with great and almost insurmountable difficulties. We do not possess any original Indian work found in China* like the probably South Indian standing bronze Buddha found in Annam† and shown to you on the screen during M. Goloubew's December lecture before this Society, or like a similar statuette excavated in Eastern Java that was seen last year (1922) at the Exhibition of Indian Sculpture at The Hague.‡

These discoveries would, of course, gain in importance if we knew, in addition to the period in which

* I may be mistaken in this, for in a letter, dated Calcutta, 11th April, 1923, Mr. O. C. Gangoly writes to me: "You have not . . . taken into consideration one or two pieces of out-and-out Indian Buddhist statues which have been discovered in the soil of China, which throw an immense amount of light on the nature of the fusion of Indian and Chinese art. One of these pieces is an inscribed bronze Avalokitesvara and is unique in the history of Chino-Indian art. I propose to publish this example in a coming number of 'Rupam.'"

† Reproduced in A. Foucher, "L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra," II, 2 (1922), p. 761, and in Jeanne Leuba, "Les Chams et leur Art," Paris et Bruxelles, 1923, Plate XVII. The last mentioned reproduction shows the statuette with restored right arm.

‡ This statuette has been reproduced in the second large publication of the "Society of Friends of Asiatic Art," The Hague: "Choix de Sculptures des Indes," Première Série, The Hague, 1923, Plate X-XI. The height of this statuette is 16½ inches, whilst the Buddha, reproduced by Foucher, is 43½ inches high.

these bronzes were made, also the period in which they had been brought to Annam and Eastern Java.* But it is better to have a little than nothing at all.

Information is to be found concerning original Indian works brought to China, and even about works of art made by Indian monks in China, in many old Chinese annals and itineraries. To give only a few examples: In the year A.D. 430 the Indian missionary Gunavarman painted a jātaka scene in a temple near Canton.† About a century later the Chinese monk Hwui-sheng, the travelling companion of Sung Yun, brought back from India brass models of Indian stūpas,‡ whilst in the beginning of the seventh century we find, among the Court painters of the Emperor Yang-ti, the Indians Kabôdha and Dharma Kuksha.§ It is well known that in the year 645 the famous Hūen-tsang brought back from his long travels in India images of the Buddha and his saints in gold, silver, crystal, and sandalwood.||

Probably the Indian sculptures brought to China were but small works of metal, precious stones, wood,

* This applies, of course, also to the bronze Avalokiteśvara, mentioned by Mr. Gangoly.

† See Édouard Chavannes, "Gunavarman," *T'oung Pao* 5, II^{me} Série, p. 200.

‡ See Édouard Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra" (518-522 p. C.), *Bullet. de l'Éc. franç. d'E.-O.* (1903), p. 387.

§ See Friedrich Hirth, "Ueber fremde Einflüsse in der Chinesischen Kunst," München und Leipzig (1896), p. 72.

|| See Thomas Watters, "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A.D. 629-645," Royal Asiatic Society, London (1904), p. 11.

and clay, and not large stone sculptures, which were difficult to transport in those days, and of which at least a few might have survived.

That the imported Indian paintings have disappeared is easy to understand. Regarding Chinese paintings of these early periods we are, perhaps with a few exceptions, just as unfortunate.

Besides the total (or, taking account of Mr. Gangoly's communication: the *almost* total) absence of Indian works in China, we are confronted with another great difficulty. As those who are somewhat acquainted with Chinese art will know, there is a large break in the history of this art. The *forms* of this art (*not its history*) are practically unknown from the end of the Han period to the beginning of the North-Wei period. The greater part of the third century, the fourth century, and the beginning of the fifth century, in Chinese art is almost terra incognita.

It will be difficult to ascertain the cause of this break. Although it is of the greatest interest to us to know it, it only counts with us as such. Because of this break we are in ignorance of the appearance of Chinese art at the time when Buddhist art of foreign influence was practised in the second half of the fifth century at Yunkang and in the first half of the sixth century at Tunhwang.

It is therefore extremely difficult to state of what kind and how strong is the Chinese element in the Celestial Empire's early Buddhist art.

* * * * *

Before passing on to the detailed part of our investigations, we should glance at the map of Central Asia and China, surveying the ways by which foreign art influences have, or might have, penetrated into China. It is best to follow, on this subject, one of the greatest sinologists the West has ever known—namely, Édouard Chavannes.

In the text-volume of his "*Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*," in which he treats of Buddhist sculpture, Chavannes says (p. 293, translated into English): "In order to deal with the evolution of Chinese Buddhist art, we should, properly speaking, be able to trace simultaneously its development in the north and in the south of the Middle Empire. The political division that has maintained itself (from A.D. 420, H.V.) to the end of the sixth century has, indeed, profoundly separated the bed of the Huang-ho from that of the Yang-tsze. Buddhist art must have come to the southern provinces from India directly by sea; but we hardly know the forms into which this art has developed. . . .

"In the northern provinces, on the contrary, Buddhist art came from Central Asia; it did not, as has been the case in the south, draw its inspiration from small-scale images brought home by navigators, but has been brought to China in the course of that gradual march towards the East, by means of which Buddhism, starting from Gandhâra, has travelled through the whole of Turkestan, penetrated into Shen-si, Shan-si, and Chih-li, and thereupon extended as far as Korea and Japan.

There is no discontinuity in this progression, and the day will arrive when we shall perceive the successive stages that mark the evolution of art-forms during that enormous traverse of the whole of Asia."

Chavannes shows here clearly that direct, or, in other words, pure Indian influences, must be expected to exist in the art of the south; which seems to be right, as we shall see later.

It should be remarked that the political division between North and South China during the fifth and sixth centuries does not of necessity imply that Chinese art during this period was strictly divided into a northern and a southern branch, as is often believed. That the political division has been also an artistic division seems to be contradicted by some facts, one of which will be pointed out later.

Professor Itô Chûta, of the Imperial University at Tôkyô, has shown us that this opinion about an artistic division must be discarded.*

It still remains to be decided whether, with regard to Indian art influences, a southern overland route must be taken into consideration in addition to the sea route from India to Southern China.

* * * * *

In China a well-developed architecture in wood must have existed long before Buddhism was introduced. On many engraved Han stones we find illustrations

* See Itô Chûta, "Stone Column and Lion before the Sepulchre of the Courtier Hsiao, of the Liang Dynasty," *Kokkwa*, No. 217 (June, 1908), p. 331.



FIG. 1.—STONE PILLAR, WU-LIANG TS'ZU,
DATED A.D. 147. (After Chavannes,
Miss. arch. dans la Chine sept., pl.
xxxiv.)

of buildings in wood. Far Eastern architecture is essentially architecture in wood. The pagoda in early periods, even though it is built of stone, originated from architecture in wood.

Though the pagoda is, of course, associated with Indian symbols and ideas, and though we find in many pagoda's details that are characteristically Indian in shape, it seems to be rash to assert that the origin of the pagoda is the Indian stûpa.

The æsthetic conception of the pagoda, as well as its artistic and structural elements, are essentially *Far Eastern*, as is proved, for instance, by the stone pillars, dated A.D. 147, of the Han tomb Wu-liang ts'zu in Shan-tung (Fig. 1). These pillars are 300 years anterior to China's earliest Buddhist art. Like similar monuments of the Han period, they show clearly that the essential elements of pagoda building are Far Eastern. We find these elements in China long before the introduction of a Buddhist art of foreign influence.

In Far Eastern pagoda building, Far Eastern architecture seems to be fused with Indian symbolism, which, to put it briefly, is our conclusion on this question.

Must we see in the sixth-century non-Buddhist column before the tomb of Siao, in South China, besides other foreign influences, also Indian architectural influence? It is difficult to give an answer to this question. It is best to refer to the Kokkwa article written by Professor Itô on the subject.*

Chinese cave-temple architecture is very poor. It

* See footnote on p. 96.

seems to have borrowed from that magnificent Indian cave-temple architecture merely the idea of making rock caves for religious purposes. Leaving here more or less recent Chinese interpretations of Indian architecture out of account, we think that the influence of Indian architecture upon early Chinese architecture has not been very important.

* * * * *

The oldest Buddhist art of China, as has already been stated, is the sculptural art of the cave-temples of Yun-kang, dating mainly from the second half of the fifth century A.D. For the study of the development of Far Eastern Buddhist art the documental value of Yun-kang can hardly be over-estimated.

Much has been said about the various foreign components of its art. Chavannes (*loc. cit.*, p. 294-295) points out that the North-Wei, who ruled at Ta-t'ung-fu when the sculptures of Yun-kang were carved, were a tribe of foreign origin, namely Tonguse, that came from East Mongolia or from Manchuria. In Chavannes' opinion the art of Yun-kang owes its originality to "un sentiment artistique très personnel" of the North-Wei people. North-Wei art—giving this title henceforth as a general denomination to fifth and sixth century Buddhist art of North China—is, to sum up Chavannes' point of view, the combination of this "sentiment artistique" of the Wei people, of Indian and Central-Asiatic iconography, and of Chinese "maîtrise de facture."

Chavannes' gifted pupil, Raphael Petrucci, emphasizes* that the influence of the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra on the art of Yun-kang should not be over-estimated. He says that this Hellenistic art, at the time it penetrated into Turkestan, was probably modified by Iranian elements. Petrucci believes that in the art of Yun-kang the purely Chinese artistic element preponderates.

Supposing that the elements which so far have been enumerated are indeed components of the art of Yun-kang, we must remark that it is difficult to gain an idea of the rôle of North-Wei art—North-Wei this time as a special, not as a general, denomination—because we do not know the art of the Wei people in their pre-Chinese period.

Neither is it an easy task to point out the purely Chinese element in these sculptures, because, owing to the great break in the history of Chinese art, we do not know the forms of that art in the two centuries preceding the carving of Yun-kang.

Only the influence of the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra† and of Iranian art-elements can, with the help of the Gandhâra sculptures and of the rich Turkestan discoveries, be traced to a certain degree.

Among the real or more or less hypothetical components of the art of Yan-kang previously mentioned,

* "L'Art Bouddhique en Extrême-Orient d'après les découvertes récentes," par R. Petrucci, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, (1911), 2me semestre, p. 193 *sqq.*

† See Professor Foucher, *loc. cit.*, p. 658 *sqq.* (Chapter XVII., Influence de l'école du Gandhâra : la Chine, le Japon).

there is no Indian component. The modern point of view cannot admit that the Hellenistic art of Gandhâra, as it is more rightly called instead of Græco-Buddhist art, has anything to do with the emotional elements in Indian art.

It remains to be seen whether that form of Central Asiatic art of Turkestan, which beyond doubt must be looked upon as a component of the art of Yun-kang, was chiefly a mixture of Hellenistic and Iranian elements, or a mixture of Hellenistic, Iranian, and *Gupta elements*. Only in the latter case should we be justified in speaking of an Indian influence upon the art of Yun-kang.

Miss Klee, in her excellent article on the sculptures of the early Chinese cave-temples,* is indeed of opinion, as are some Japanese authors, that the art of Yun-kang has taken over Gandhâra as well as Gupta forms. But she admits that a clear division of both sources is impossible.

Not Yun-kang but Tun-hwang, and not the sculptural, but the *pictorial* North-Wei art, seems to throw some light on the problem whether in North-Wei art Indian elements have taken a part.

But before passing on to Tun-hwang, we must lay stress upon the necessity of recognizing different styles in the North-Wei art of Yun-kang. To treat this art as a whole makes our task extremely arduous.

* "Die Plastik in den Höhlen von Yün-kang, Lung-mên und Kung-hsien," von Th. Klee, *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* (April-September, 1918), p. 37.

We already find in Yun-kang what, for the present, we might call a Central-Asiatic style besides more or less Far Eastern styles. Of the Central-Asiatic Yun-kang style that is composed of Gandhâra, Iranian, and probably also of Indian elements, a good example is the cave interior reproduced on Plate CXXVII., Fig. 235, of Chavannes' "Mission archéol. dans la Chine septentr." A fair specimen of the more or less Far Eastern Yun-kang styles, which are probably mainly composed of Chinese and North-Wei elements (North-Wei again as a special denomination), is Plate CXXXV., Fig. 248, of Chavannes' "Mission."

Of the caves of Tun-hwang, those that can be ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century are of great importance, because they are decorated with North-Wei sculptural *and also with North-Wei pictorial art*, whilst this sculptural art* resembles the art of Yun-kang to such a degree that it seems justifiable to apply suppositions made at Tun-hwang also to Yun-kang.

The North-Wei wall-paintings of Tun-hwang belong to various styles. Among them one is of special interest to us. The paintings that belong to this style† resemble certain paintings in the caves of Ajanta‡ as far as general composition and some orna-

* See e.g., "Mission Pelliot, I Les Grottes de Touen-houang," Tome III. (Paris, 1920), Plates CLXXXVI., CXCI. and CXCII., and Tome IV. (Paris, 1921), Plates CXCIH. and CXCIH.

† *Ibid.*, Tome III., Plates CLXXXIX. and CXC.

‡ See *Kokkwa*, No. 324, Plate II. (below).

ments are concerned; for instance the chess-board design.

Though this resemblance is of a somewhat superficial kind, the artistic sentiment of the details of the Tun-hwang paintings being different from the emotional element in the Ajanta details, it may still be asked whether some Tun-hwang North-Wei *sculptures* should not also be influenced by Indian art of the Gupta period as some paintings at Tun-hwang seem to be influenced by that art.

Attributing finally a supposition made at Tun-hwang to the art of Yun-kang, we arrive at the thesis that the earliest Buddhist art of the Far East, among many other influences, was also influenced by Indian art.

As it is always our aim to place side by side works of foreign influence and works of a more or less Far Eastern style, attention is called to a kind of North-Wei wall-paintings at Tun-hwang which displays a style differing greatly from the style of wall-paintings of Indian type.* The student of Far Eastern art will at once recognize in this kind of painting the prototype of some wall-paintings in Korean tombs and of the paintings on the Tamamushi shrine of Hôryû-ji.

Some believe, as we have said, that the political division between North and South China during the fifth and sixth centuries was also an artistic division. They think, for instance, that the Central Asiatic-Indian

* See e.g., "Mission Pelliot," Tome IV., Plates CCLIII., and CCLVI.



FIG. II.—GILT BRONZE, SAKYAMUNI AND PRABHÜTARATNA. DATED
A.D. 519. STOCLET COLLECTION, BRUSSELS. HEIGHT, 9 INS



FIG. III.—GILT BRONZE, AVALOKITEŚVARA. DATED A.D. 516.
STOCLET COLLECTION, BRUSSELS. HEIGHT, 10 INS.

type of North-Wei art (adding henceforth Indian to Central-Asiatic, though this is not absolutely justified) belongs to the artistic productions of the North, whereas the more or less Far Eastern North-Wei type should belong to the art of the South. We know from experience that of two small gilt Buddhist bronzes in the collection of M. Stoclet at Brussels, the Central Asiatic-Indian type,* dated A.D. 519 (Fig. 2), has been attributed to North Chinese art, whilst the contemporary Far Eastern type made in A.D. 516 (Fig. 3) is said to be South Chinese.

This Far Eastern type, in the form of figures in niches, it is true, was discovered in 1914 by the first French Segalen expedition in South China, at Miencheu in Sze-chw'an.† These niches and figures have been carved during the Liang period in 529 A.D. on a stone pillar of the Han dynasty.

Segalen ascertains‡ that the ogive shape of these sixth century niches has been found on Han monuments. In the opinion of this able explorer, who most unfortunately died soon after Petrucci and Chavannes, the style of the garments of these figures, which, for instance, is characteristic of many sculptures of the

* The colossal Buddha of Yun-kang is a characteristic specimen of this Central-Asiatic-Indian North-Wei style. The contrast between sculptures like this and works in the Far Eastern style is enormous.

† See Victor Segalen, "Premier exposé des résultats archéologiques obtenus dans la Chine occidentale par la mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lartigue et Victor Segalen (1914)." III.: "L'Art Bouddhique ancien au Sseu-tch'ouan," *Journ. Asiat.* (Mai-Juin, 1916), Fig. 26 (facing p. 388).

‡ *Loc. cit.*, p. 389.

Japanese Suiko period, has nothing to do with Gandhâra; it should, on the contrary, be associated with Han art.*

We are inclined to share Segalen's opinion that this style is chiefly Chinese. That it is not right to think that it belongs exclusively to the South is proved by the fact that we find it in the caves of Yun-kang, which means that at the very time of the political division between North and South China this style also existed in the north of the Middle Empire. It will also be found at Lung-men.†

Professor Itô's opinion that the division of China's fifth and sixth century art into a northern and a southern branch has no *raison d'être*, seems indeed to be justified.

The illustration of the stone lion‡ that was photographed by Segalen during his explorations near Nan-king (in 1917), and should be dated about A.D. 518—being thus contemporary with the bronzes and stone sculptures that have just been discussed—confirms what has often been repeated, namely, that besides an art of foreign influence there has always existed an autochthonous art in China.

Looking at the illustration of this magnificent work, before the grandeur of which all words of praise must necessarily prove inadequate, we may ask: Which is

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 389.

† See Chavannes' "Mission," Plate CXIV., Fig. 218 (Yun-kang), and Plate CCLXII., Fig. 394 (Lung-men).

‡ See "Bulletin archéologique du Musée Guimet," fasc. I., Paris et Bruxelles (1921), Plate IV.



FIG. IV.—BUDDHIST NICHE AT MIEN-CHEU (SZE-CHW'AN),
SUI PERIOD. (After Photo. by "Mission Segalen.")

the winning party in early Chinese art, the category of foreign influence or the group of which the autochthonous character is the echo of the earliest Chinese art known to us—the sublime art of Shang, Cheu, and Han?

The answer does not seem very difficult.

* * * * *

Now that the probable Indian influences on Chinese art of the Wei period, covering the second half of the fifth and nearly the whole of the sixth century, have occupied our attention, we must consider the short period that lies between North-Wei and T'ang—namely, the Sui period from 589 to 618.

Some Buddhist sculptures of this period (Fig. 4) discovered by the Segalen expedition at Mien-cheu, the place already known to us, are of the greatest interest, because the decoration of the socles of these early seventh-century niches must have some relationship to Indian art. Segalen thinks* that the style of these niches with their contents can be derived from Wei art at Yun-kang and Lung-men.

We regret that we cannot share Segalen's opinion. Though the shape of the niches is to be found in the cave-temples, it is very doubtful whether the figures that adorn these niches can be associated with anything in Yun-kang and Lung-men. The decoration of the socles can by no means be derived from any decoration in Yun-kang.

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 391.

Miss Klee has laid stress upon the *Indian element* in this socle decoration.*

That there is a contrast between the art of the figures and that of the socles of these niches cannot be denied. The style of the figures is more or less Chinese; the way in which the ornament is carved and composed is not quite Chinese. The artistic sentiment in this decoration is rather Indian.

Whether the "Indian decoration" of the Mien-cheu niches should be looked upon as an argument in support of Dr. William Cohn's thesis that seventh-century Buddhist sculpture of China and Japan has been strongly influenced by the art of the Gupta period,† is an extremely difficult question. We believe that our knowledge about the Chinese remains of the early T'ang period (the whole T'ang period runs from 618 to 906) on the one side, the Indian sculptural monuments of the Gupta period on the other side, does not justify a pronouncement on this intricate question.

The grounds upon which we believe that a pronouncement is premature, or even impossible, might be formulated as follows:

The possibility is by no means excluded that the Buddhist T'ang style in Chinese sculpture is partly the outcome of an autochthonous development of one of the North-Wei styles. That T'ang sculpture, in

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 49.

† See William Cohn, "Indische Plastik," 2nd ed., Berlin (1922), p. 31 and footnote on p. 35.

comparison with the archaic North-Wei styles, is more or less realistic, is easy to understand. It is the fate of every style to become realistic in the course of time. This change need not be caused by an Indian influence.

Should the sculptural T'ang style in Chinese Buddhist art be partly derivable from the Central Asiatic-Indian style of North-Wei, then we must not be astonished to find an Indian sentiment in Buddhist T'ang works. It must, however, be admitted that, in speaking of a Central-Asiatic-Indian style, we are not quite consistent. It is, as we have seen, not certain, though possible, that there is a purely Indian element in one of the North-Wei styles. Therefore the Indian sentiment in T'ang art may have penetrated into this art only perhaps during the early T'ang period in the seventh century. *In the course of this penetration Khotan seems to have been an extremely important stage.*

Japan still possesses as one of her greatest treasures the masterly Buddhist wall-paintings of Hôryû-ji.* This pictorial series belongs, chronologically speaking, to the T'ang period—in all probability to the beginning of the eighth century.† On the one hand, the wall-paintings show a remarkable resemblance to some important T'ang sculptures. On the other hand, we believe,

* Hôryû-ji (near Nara) is not affected by the earthquake of September 1923.

† See the official "Handbook of the old Shrines and Temples and their Treasures in Japan," Tôkyô, Department of Education (Bureau of Religions), 1920, p. 126.

sharing Professor Hamada's opinion (see below), that the great masters who have adorned the Kon-dô walls of Hôryû-ji were Khotanese painters, or painters belonging to the Khotanese school.

This belief is strengthened by studying Hôryû-ji and Khotan details, as reproduced in Fig. 5. Though the tempera-painting of Harîti, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Farhâd bêg-yailaki (Khotan), is the work of an artisan and not of an artist, it resembles, as far as the head of Harîti is concerned, to a high degree the style and the technical execution of the head of Amida on the Western Kon-dô wall of Horyû-ji.

As it seems to be beyond discussion that the art of Khotan has been influenced by India, and not only by Gandhâra and Iran, we think that the Indian element in Buddhist T'ang art is rather the consequence of seventh-century Khotanese than of direct pure Indian influences.

We repeat that this problem is as intricate as it is interesting, and that any pronouncement upon it is, in our opinion, premature.

If we compare a colossal North-Wei Bodhisattva of Yun-kang* with a colossal T'ang Bodhisattva of Lung-men,† the supposition that T'ang Buddhist style is partly derivable from one of the North-Wei styles seems to be somehow justified. That the rich ornaments that usually adorn the garment of T'ang Bodhisattvas are not a peculiarity of the T'ang period,

* See Chavannes "Mission," Plate CXXVIII., Fig. 238.

† *Ibid.*, Plate CCXXIV., Fig. 355.



FIG. V.—TO THE LEFT : DETAIL OF TEMPERA PAINTING. HEAD OF HARITĪ, FARHĀD BĒG YAILAKI (KHOTAN). (After Stein, "Serindia," iv., pl. xiii.) TO THE RIGHT : DETAIL OF WALL-PAINTING. HEAD OF AMIDA, WESTERN KON-DÔ WALL, HORYÛ-JI. (After Hōryū-ji Ō-Kagami, Suppl. 1.)



FIG. VI.—TO THE LEFT : DETAIL OF WALL-PAINTING. HEAD OF BODHISATTVA, AJANTA. (After Kokkwa, 325, pl. iii.) TO THE RIGHT : DETAIL OF WALL-PAINTING. HEAD OF BODHISATTVA, NORTHERN KON-DÔ WALL, HORYÛ-JI. (After Hōryū-ji Ō-Kagami, Suppl. 3.)

as is often believed, and need not be ascribed to Indian influence during this period, is clearly proved by the gilt bronze North-Wei Bodhisattva which is one of the finest and most interesting art-treasures in the Tôkyô Fine Arts Academy collection.*

Neither is, contrary to the current belief, the characteristic position of the bodies of many T'ang Bodhisattvas a peculiarity of T'ang.† Some sculptures in the caves of Yun-kang‡ disprove this belief.

* * * * *

Quite apart from the problem as to the manner in which Indian sentiment has penetrated into T'ang Buddhist art, it seems to be beyond doubt that this art, in its early period, has been strongly influenced by Khotan.

This has been said by many authors. Among them, Professor Hamada Kôzaku, of the Imperial University at Kyôto, occupies a prominent position with a series of six articles entitled "Græco-Indian Influence upon the Far Eastern Arts," which appeared in the "Kokkwa" in the course of 1906.§ In his fifth article, Professor Hamada did not hesitate to attribute the Hôryû-ji wall-paintings to Khotan,|| whilst in his last

* See "Tôyô Bijutsu Taikwan" (Masterpieces selected from the Fine Arts of the Far East), Tôkyô (1909-1920), Vol. XIII., Fig. XCIV.

† In this position the bodies mainly rest on one leg and are inclined to the right if they rest on the left leg, and *vice versa*.

‡ See Chavannes' "Mission," Plate CLIII., Fig. 267.

§ Nos. 188, 189, 191, 192, 193 and 196.

|| No. 193 (June, 1906), p. 353.

article this competent Japanese archæologist says: "During the Sui and T'ang periods the kingdom of Khotan was found to have been in communication with India and Tibet, until there had developed in that country a new hybrid art, which was soon after introduced into China and formed the basis for the well-known T'ang style."*

We have pointed out that some important Far Eastern Buddhist sculptures of the T'ang period resemble in style of Hôryû-ji panels. In the event of these paintings really being Khotanese, this resemblance explains the Khotanese element in the contemporary sculptural art.

The Indian sentiment in the wall-paintings of Hôryû-ji has always been a very puzzling problem to many earnest students of Far Eastern art. The problem would be partly solved if we class the panels as Khotanese work.

Here, of course, a new question arises, as to how strong the Indian element is in Khotanese seventh century pictorial art. Like all similar questions, the answer depends upon personal feeling and insight. If we substitute for Hôryû-ji panels "Khotanese paintings," the often expressed opinion that the Hôryû-ji paintings resemble in a high degree some paintings in the caves of Ajanta, would run: "Khotanese seventh-century pictorial art must be associated with certain series of pictorial art in Ajanta."

It should be remarked, however, that students of the

* No. 196 (September, 1906), p. 443.

art of Asia who have visited both Hôryû-ji and the caves of Ajanta (as in our case), or who have excellent photographs of the paintings in both sanctuaries at their disposal,* do not, as a rule, share this current opinion. Some of them even believe that there is no resemblance at all.

It must be admitted, first of all, that there is a great difference between the pure and strong line-work of the Hôryû-ji panels and the much more picturesque way in which the paintings of Ajanta are executed. Some essentially artistic elements in both series diverge greatly, in our opinion. Moreover, the symmetrical composition of the Hôryû-ji panels and the methods of conception adopted in Ajanta also differ.

Though the divergence between both pictorial series might be said to be much greater than the resemblance between them, we still think that there is a resemblance sufficient to recognize the Indian element in Khotanese late seventh or early eighth century pictorial art (Fig. 6).

* * * * *

Before giving a résumé of the foregoing, a few words may be said about a question which is not directly connected with the subject of our investigations.

* The *only* good and *extensive* series of reproductions of the wall-paintings in Hôryû-ji is to be found in the last four volumes of the Hôryû-ji O-Kagami, a publication in 64 volumes, illustrating the whole of Hôryû-ji's art treasures (of which a part belongs now to the Japanese Imperial Household). See H. F. E. Visser, "Neuere Japanische Veröffentlichungen über Ostasiatische Kunst," *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.*, X (1922-1923), p. 138.

The painter Abanindra Nath Tagore has supposed* that there might be some relation between the "Sadanga," or the Six Limbs of Indian Painting, and, to use Mr. Waley's denomination, the "Six Component Parts," which in the second half of the fifth century A.D. have been formulated by the Chinese painter Sié Hoh.

We regret that, basing our judgment on the many well-known translations of Sié Hoh's Component Parts and, with the friendly help of Professor de Visser, also on the original Chinese text, we are not able to detect a connection between the Indian Limbs as interpreted by Mr. Tagore, and the probable meaning of the characteristically Chinese Component Parts.†

* * * * *

To conclude, a summary may be given of the rather negative results of the present investigations.

There may be among many other foreign elements, a pure Indian component in the art of North-Wei, the earliest Buddhist art known in China. But at the present this remains a hypothesis, defective as most other, always rather too theoretical, suppositions made in the domain of style-criticism.

What seems far more evident is that the socle decorations of some early seventh-century Buddhist niches in South China have been strongly influenced by Indian

* See *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.*, III., 1, p. 102; and III., 3, p. 375.

† Cf. Arthur Waley, "An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting," p. 74.

art. If so, this remains, at the present stage of our archæological knowledge, an isolated fact from which no further conclusions can be drawn. But, in all probability, future discoveries in South-China will throw stronger, and for India more favourable, light on Indian-Chinese artistic relations.

Early T'ang Buddhist style could well be partly a development of one of the styles of North-Wei. The influence of Khotan on T'ang Buddhist art must have been very important and decisive, whilst the Indian sentiment in T'ang works may have resulted mainly from this contact with Khotan, and need not be ascribed for a substantial part to direct influences from India.

* * * * *

Some current opinions about the way Indian and Chinese art are related do not seem quite well founded.* The more the subject of the present investigations is studied, the more it proves to be a series of very delicate, intricate and nearly insoluble problems. We can scarcely be too scrupulous in trying to suggest solutions to these highly interesting problems.†

* There are, however, excellent exceptions. About a year after this lecture had been written, Langdon Warner published his brilliant book on "Japanese Sculpture of the Suiko Period" (New Haven, 1923). In the "Historical Introduction" to Mr. Warner's text, written by his wife, about one page (p. 13) has been devoted to the discussion of the artistic relations between India and China. In our opinion it is the best page which has ever been written on the subject.

† Anyone who is aware of the very difficult and rather puzzling problem concerning the relation between Indian and Hindu-Javanese art, will not be astonished to find that the problem of Indian Far Eastern artistic relations proves, in certain respects, to be still more difficult and nearly insoluble.

The two magnificent poles of the art of Asia are India and China. Before there could have been any contact between Chinese and Indian art, each of these arts had produced works of extraordinary beauty and masterly style. If there is any question as to one land having inspired another, then that land is, of course, India.

Some supreme Buddhist works created in Far Eastern countries seem to be the sublime result of a fusion of Indian and Far Eastern art.

Can anything finer be imagined in the history of the art of Asia?

H. F. E. VISSER.

INDIA AND THE ART OF INDO-CHINA

THE civilisations of French Indo-China may be divided into two well-defined groups. Chinese culture is to be found in Annam, Cochin-China, and Tonkin; Cambodia and Laos have, throughout the ages, preserved their close relationship with India.

At one time the whole peninsula of Indo-China, with the exception of Tonkin, adhered to the culture of India. The eastern side, known as Annam, was then inhabited by a Malayo-Polynesian race, the Chams, who from the commencement of our Western era were in direct relationship with India. The conquest of that country by the Annamites in the fifteenth century brought about the disappearance of the Cham kingdom.

For the earliest history of the Chams, and their neighbours the Khmers or Cambodians, we are indebted to the Chinese. The Tsin-Chou, or history of the Tsin dynasty (265-419), contains a special chapter describing a vast kingdom, Fou-nan by name, situated on the Lower Mekong and the coast of Cochin-China. This can be identified, in part at least, with the Cambodia of the present day. The Chinese tell us that this kingdom

was conquered during the first century of our era by a Brahmin, Kaundinya, who married the young Queen Licou-ye. In 484 the King of Fou-nan addressed, through the Buddhist monk Śākya Nāgasena, a petition to the Emperor of China, in the course of which he gives some detailed information concerning the religious customs observed in that country. The highest deity was Maheśvara (Śiva?); a Bodhisattva (Avalokiteśvara?) was devoutly worshipped as the god of Mercy; images with two and four heads and many arms were fashioned in bronze; there were sculptures of elephants in sandal-wood, and stūpas in ivory.

The most ancient inscription which has been discovered in Cambodia so far dates from the year A.D. 629. It is written partly in the Khmer language and partly in Sanskrit, and refers to the donation of a Śivalinga. On the epigraphical monuments of the best epoch, the Khmer writing recalls that of South India and the Western Deccan. Sanskrit scholars agree in praising the skill shown by the Cambodians in inscribing on stone. Some of their steles are models of regularity, fine workmanship, and elegance. It has been found possible to reconstitute the history of the ancient Cambodian Empire, through the examination of some 350 inscriptions and the perusal of a large number of manuscripts written on palm-leaves. Not only the evidence of the plastic monuments, but also the Khmer texts, prove that there existed at one time a powerful state, created on the lines of the ancient Hindu kingdoms. In fact the culture, the institutions, and the arts of

"classic" Cambodia recall the plains of the Ganges, the South-Eastern Coast of India, and the island of Ceylon.

The question as to how these Hindu influences came to make themselves felt in Cambodia has not yet received an answer. But according to information culled from the Chinese annals, and also in harmony with geographical considerations, it is now generally admitted that this influx came from the South—*i.e.*, from the deltas of the Menam and the Mekong. It is quite feasible that priests, exiles, and merchants came from India and settled on the coast of the peninsula after rounding its southern extremity, or crossing the isthmus of Kra. On the other hand, elements of Hindu culture may have spread over Cambodia through the territories now known as Siam and Burma. The texts are practically silent on this point, but certain inscriptions mention that Hindu priests came to Cambodia to teach religion.

The art of Cambodia reveals profound Hindu influence. But it would be a mistake to ignore the importance of native traditions and ideals, which have had the effect of giving to certain aspects of Khmer art a purely national character. It may be said that an Indian god modelled by a Khmer artist frequently tends to resemble the early popular idols of the Cambodian villages, which should be classified as products of a primitive art such as is found among the natives of Indonesia and the Pacific islands. Yet the signs pointing to this transition are often scarcely perceptible. There is no trace of characteristically Gandharan

influence in Cambodian sculpture, although it may be true to say that a faint reflection of Greek art reached Cambodia through the plastic schools of Magadha, South India, and Java. Indian art had already reached and even passed the era of its greatest development at the time when the first stone temples were being erected in Indo-China. A large number of Khmer works of art dating from the ninth and tenth centuries recall the monumental styles of the Gupta and Pallava periods. Chinese influence may be traced in certain details of architecture and decorative art; but this is open to doubt.

The vanished kingdom of the Chams, the Champa, has provided Indo-Chinese epigraphy with a Sanskrit text dating back to the third or even the second century of our era. I refer to the famous inscription of Vō-canh discovered in 1885. This deals with a pious foundation instituted by a sovereign who proclaimed himself a descendant of a certain King Śri-Māra; and it proves the existence of an Indianized state in the region of Nhatrang in Southern Annam. Numerous inscriptions have furnished detailed information on the Cham kingdom and its history. The most ancient of these are written in Sanskrit. The Cham language appears on the steles only towards the period marking the decline of Champa, and the breaking of the intellectual relationship with India. No Sanskrit texts can be found in Champa of a date later than the twelfth century.

At the present time we can find only very vague traces of the power and splendour, long since gone,

which once distinguished that race. The Chams of to-day are not numerous, and are often scattered among savage tribes. They have lost nearly all the traditions which connected them with India in the past. The majority of them have adopted the Muslim faith, following therein the example of the Malayans; some, however, remain faithful to the religion of Śiva, adapted to local superstitions.

At the time of its political supremacy Champa represented Hindu culture on the Pacific coast. Her kings observed in their public and private life the ceremonial practices of India. The Brahmins exercised great influence over the people. The first Hindu colonisers probably reached Champa by the southern seas. They may have utilised Java and the Hindu States on the Malay Peninsula as stopping places on the way.

The art of Champa reveals powerful Śivaistic inspiration. The most ancient sanctuary of that country, the temple of Pō-Nagar at Nhatrang, is dedicated to the Śakti or mystical wife of Śiva worshipped under the name of Bhagavatī. The cult of the linga was very common among the Chams; Buddhism appears only rarely.

China was prevented from exercising any great influence on the civilisation of ancient Champa owing to the continuous relations of the latter with India, and that in spite of the fact that the two countries have for nearly ten centuries bordered on one another. Nevertheless it is possible to trace in the works of Cham artists the presence of certain elements of Chinese

origin, which the Khmers did not introduce into their own art.

The sculpture and the architecture of Champa reached in the seventh century a degree of development which Khmer art did not attain until two centuries later. At the time when the magnificent temples of Angkor were being erected Cham art was already in its decline. This decadence became more pronounced as the Indian influence receded, and the disastrous consequences of the Annamite invasions made themselves felt.

As compared with Champa and Cambodia, Laos occupied an inferior rank in the history of Indo-Chinese art. That country cannot show any remarkable monuments in stone. Nevertheless, certain Laotian temples built in wood offer considerable artistic interest. Since the Middle Ages the people of Laos have excelled in the art of casting and sculpturing Buddhas in bronze. Some of these statues recall the Hīnayānist images of Ceylon. On the other hand, there are Chinese features noticeable, which can be easily explained on historical grounds, for Laos was subdued by China in the fifteenth century. As in the case of the Khmers and the Chams, the craftsmen of Laos have a tendency to substitute for the Indian characteristics some native formulas which often produce the effect of 'decadent' styles.

Since the discovery of Angkor in 1861, archæology in Indo-China has been marked by considerable progress; but the comparative study of the different art styles, more or less impregnated with Indian influences, is still in an initial stage. When thoroughly pursued,



FIG. 1.—BRONZE BUDDHA: DONG-DUONG, ANNAM.

this study will enable us to rewrite some of the forgotten chapters of that great Indian art which spread over Eastern Asia in the same way as Greek ideals spread over the Mediterranean lands and finally across the Alps.

I shall now describe in some detail a few specimens of Indo-Chinese art which illustrate the above remarks.

Fig. I. In the Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient is a Buddha in bronze, discovered in 1911 among the ruins of Dong-Duong (Central Annam). The figure is upright, with the right hand lifted in the preaching attitude (*vitarka mudrā*), and the left hand occupied in raising a corner of the monastic robe. Although discovered in Annamite soil, this bronze does not give the impression of being of Indo-Chinese origin. The style recalls certain sculptures met with in Ceylon and Southern India dating from about the fourth and fifth centuries. The schools of Amarāvati and Anurādhapura freely represent the Buddha in this expressive and almost imperious attitude, which seems as if it were borrowed from Indo-Hellenistic art. But the fact that a work of Hindu origin was found on an Indo-Chinese site is not in itself surprising. There were constant communications between Ceylon and the Far East at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and sometimes objects of art, particularly Buddhist images, were sent to the Chinese Emperor. It is possible that this statue may have been among the booty captured by Cham pirates as the result of some successful raid in the Yellow Sea. The

monastery of Dong-Duong was founded in 875 of our era by Indravarman II., King of Champa, and these ruins, which were explored and described by Mr. H. Parmentier, are of the greatest interest as a field of study of Buddhist architecture.

Fig. II. In the Museum of Phnom-Penh, Cambodia, is a Hari Hara (Śiva-Viṣṇu). This statue was found in the province of Kompong-Thom, and is certainly of Cambodian origin. It represents the transitional style in which the elements borrowed from Indian plastic art are predominant. It is classified by Mr. Parmentier as typical of the work of the archaic period, which was very susceptible to Indian influences. It might be dated as belonging to the eighth century. The pose of the statue is determined by the desire to create a harmonious equilibrium between the thorax, the pelvis, and the lower extremities. It is a modified variant of the pose known in Indian sculpture as 'the three flexions' (*tribhaṅga*). Certain anatomical details are treated with the greatest care, particularly the modelling of the knees and the ankles. The type is closely allied in spirit to the Pallava sculptures. The expression of the face is grave, the eyes are wide open, the mouth is closed, and the lips are without a smile. The proportions of the body give an impression of refinement and elegance. It may well be supposed that the artist had before him works of Indian origin, or rather that he was guided by rules imposed by masters who came from India. The dual nature of the god, representing Śiva and Viṣṇu in one being, is shown by the ornament on the head-dress,



FIG. 11.—HARI HARA : MUSEUM OF PHNOM PENH.



FIG. III —HARI HARA: MUSEUM OF HANOÏ.

half of which is convoluted in imitation of the 'jata' of Śiva, while the other half is not modelled. Cambodian art has many examples of Harihara, especially of the time preceding the flourishing period of Angkor. The Musée Guimet in Paris possesses a beautiful statue of the same type. The god had four arms. Among the symbolic objects held in the hands were, doubtlessly, the discus (śakra) of Viṣṇu and the trident of Mahādeva. The material is a greyish sandstone very common in Cambodia. The dimensions are almost life-size. A very surprising feature of this sculpture is that it is almost entirely unadorned. The god wears no bracelets, collar, or anklets. The 'sampot' which covers the loins is only faintly marked on the thighs and the groin.

Fig. III. The next example is from the Musée de L'École Française d'Extrême Orient at Hanoi, and represents Harihara. Although Cambodian, it differs sensibly, in artistic merit, from the statue just shown. In its proportions it is thick-set, and the whole forms a massive block, to the disadvantage of the lower extremities, whose anatomy is only roughly indicated. This tendency towards heaviness and to simplification of contour may be noticed in a very large number of Khmer images when represented as figures in the round. This is more rarely the case with bronzes, and disappears entirely in bas-reliefs. It may be explained in part, at any rate, by the technical difficulties which attend the use of such friable material as sandstone. Here we may register a case of a set-back in develop-

ment; such as is fairly well known to students of Asiatic art. In spite of its 'archaic' appearance, it may be dated perhaps at one or two centuries later than the last example.

Fig. IV. I now draw your attention to a figure of the Buddha in meditation, from the Museum of Phnom-Penh. This magnificent specimen was found by M. Jean Commaille at Angkor-Thom, amongst the ruins of Bayon, in February, 1913. It may be classed, with the Harihara in the same museum, among the examples of Indian inspiration of which the style may be defined as Indo-Cambodian. The plastic excellence of this sculpture is very clear, and strikes the eye immediately. The impression is one of harmony and calm, and creates an atmosphere of complete serenity. It may be placed side by side with the celebrated dhyāni-buddhas of Borobodur, but it surpasses them perhaps in its proportions and in its modelling, and in that meditative beauty expressed by the face with closed eyelids and a faint smile. The Master is seated on the coils of a Nāga of which the hood, when complete, offered him a rest and shelter. This arrangement is not rare in Cambodian art, where the many-headed Nāga is to be found in many plastic compositions.

Fig. V. It is instructive to compare with this statue a Buddha in meditation holding a thunderbolt (vajra), which comes from Banteai-Chmar in Northern Cambodia and dates from the ninth century. The first difference to note is the presence here of ethnological characteristics absent from the former (Fig. IV.), which



FIG. IV.—BUDDHA: MUSEUM OF PHNOM PENH.



FIG. V.—BUDDHA: BANTEAI-CHMAR.

is an abstract and ideal conception. The face is almost square, the nose flat, the mouth very broad. The eyes are slanting, and the eyebrows curve up to the temples. All these details can be noticed in many members of the Khmer race, and it is fair to conclude that this Buddha image is an example of purely native work. It is a type adopted by most of the Khmer sculptors, and can be seen to advantage in the celebrated 'smiling faces' of Bayon at Angkor-Thom.

Fig. VI. This is a head of the Buddha, from Angkor, which is related in style to the last, and is a very attractive example. But here the features are interpreted with such a delicate touch, and with such an individualised effect, that one might almost think it a portrait. We have in fact here a masterpiece of Cambodian art, where the chisel of the Khmer craftsman has attained the summit of perfection. There can be no doubt that the head belonged to a Buddha, from the conical protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) which dominates the skull. On the other hand it may be argued that this is a prince, or even a king, portrayed as the Buddha as a reward for his religious merit.

Fig. VII. I now turn to a bas-relief from the historical gallery at Angkor, of the twelfth or thirteenth century. This form of art in Cambodia underwent a logical evolution of which there are remarkable examples. First there are the images chiselled on the walls of Banteai-Chmar; they are almost archaic in their simplicity and naïveté. These were followed by the Bayon compositions (Angkor-Thom), which are

more skilfully arranged and richer in details. Lastly, the galleries of Angkor-Vat furnish a monumental collection of bas-reliefs executed with a surprising mastery of technique. This evolution, just as in the case of Javanese art, was reached in close contact with the national genius. This example reveals this Khmer art in its full maturity. We find decorative talent and the instinct of the historian happily blended and allied. The result is a work which is harmonious and well-balanced. The borders are so richly sculptured that one thinks of precious fabrics arranged around the animated scene. The dislike of blank space has led the artist to excess in the use of forms, the subjects endlessly follow one another and intermingle. The exuberant wealth of detail sometimes gives an impression of monotony. The bas-reliefs of Angkor may be called a crowning achievement, which was not, however, followed by an epoch of progressive decline; Khmer art came to a sudden and abrupt end. In the palace dances of the present court of Cambodia can be traced, but with difficulty, the memory of the plastic traditions which once inspired the artists of Angkor-Vat. What Dr. Vogel, in referring to Indo-Javanese art, describes as the 'Silver Age' did not exist in Khmer art.

Fig. VIII. Lastly, I draw attention to a female dancer representing Cham art of the seventh century, from the Musée de Tourane (Annam). This example is only a fragment of a sculpture which must have measured nearly ten feet in width and three and a half in height, probably representing a processional car drawn by



FIG. VI.—HEAD OF BUDDHA: ANGKOR.

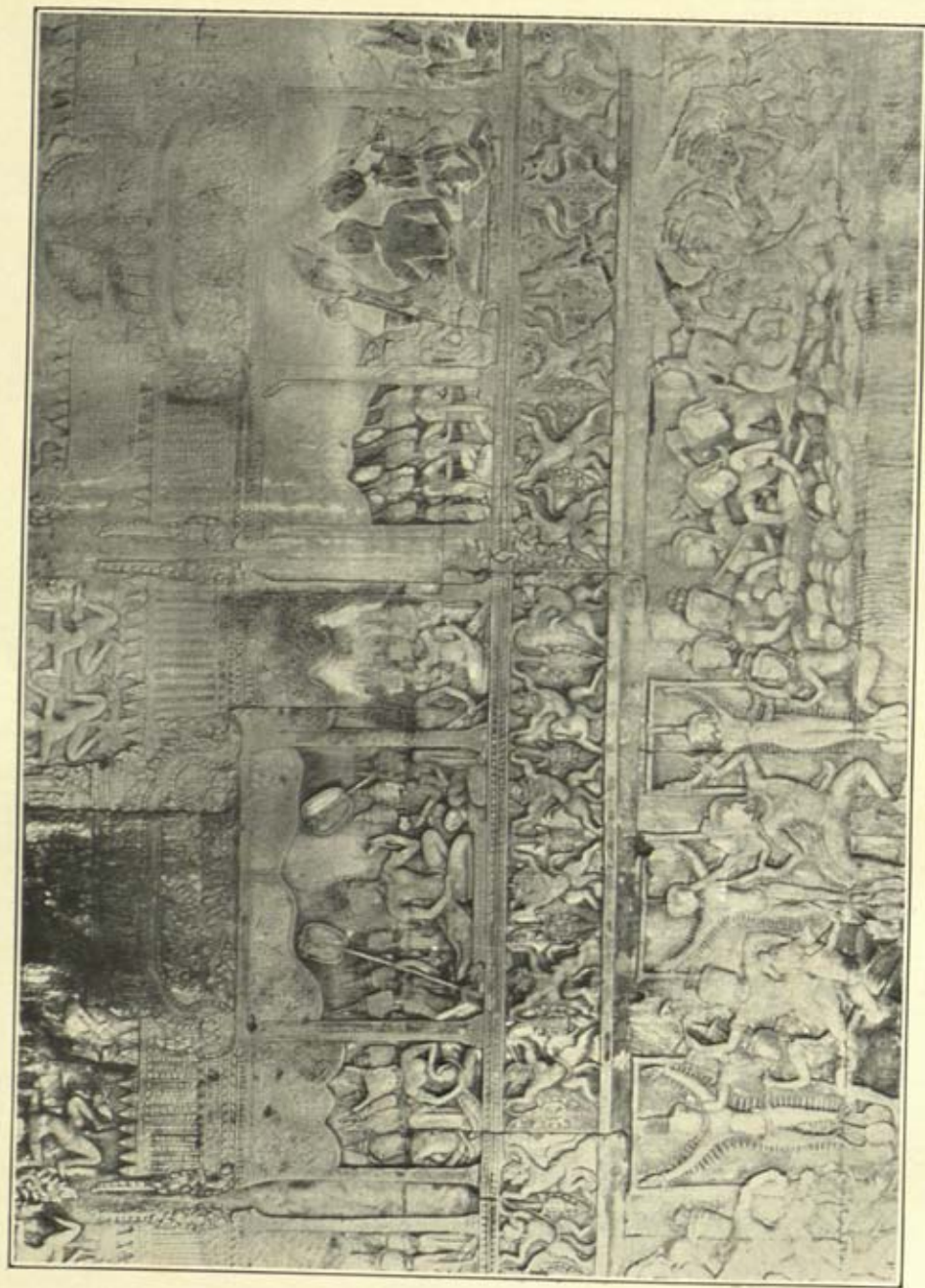


FIG. VII.—HEAVEN AND HELL: BAS-RELIEF OF ANGKOR-VAT.

miniature horses, and surrounded by dancers and musicians. It reveals the high level of plastic art which the Chams attained during their best period (fifth to seventh century). The movement recalls to a certain extent the rhythm of the dance of Siva (tandava). The left arm is thrown forward in a balancing pose known in India as *gaja-hasta*. As in the statues of Indian goddesses, the waist is slender and supple, the breasts are accentuated. The strange formation of the elbow is characteristic of the Cham race as also of the Khmers: it may still be noticed among the royal dancers of Phnom-Penh. The dancer is adorned with pearls and filmy garments; on her head she wears a conical tiara (*mukuta*), a specimen of which, in gold repoussé, was found during the excavations at Mī-son, Central Annam, in 1903, and is now in the Museum at Hanoi.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

The study of the archæology of Indo-China was commenced by Doudart de Lagrée, the well-known explorer of Upper Mekong, who died in 1868. His work was continued by Francis Garnier, and, especially, by Lieutenant Louis Delaporte, who published in 1880 an important work on his travels in Cambodia and on Khmer architecture. A voluminous and comprehensive study of the highest interest dealing with Cambodian art and history was compiled by M. E. Aymonier in 1904. The *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, founded in 1898, has, under the supervision of M. Louis Finot, the eminent Indian scholar, devoted a large number of books to the antiquities of Indo-China, among which

are 'A Descriptive Inventory of Cambodian Monuments,' by M. Lunet de Lajonquière, and 'The Cham Monuments of Annam,' by M. Henri Parmentier. The Cham sculptures of the Museum of Tourane have recently been published by the last-named author in 'Ars Asiatica,' Vol. IV. The ruins of Angkor have been described for travellers in an excellent little guide, with illustrations, edited by M. Jean Commaillé and published by Hachette and Co. in Paris, 1912. A remarkable volume of 'Researches' on Cambodian art by M. Georges Groslier appeared in 1921. The ancient inscriptions of Indo-China have been studied by Barth, Bergaigne, Kern, Aymonier, Finot, and Coëdes. A Chinese account of a voyage to Cambodia, written by Tcheou Ta-kouan in 1296, has been translated by M. Paul Pelliot, and was published in 1902 in the second volume of the 'Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.'

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FIG. VIII—FEMALE DANCER: MUSÉE DE TOURANE, HANOÏ.

INDIAN ART IN TIBET AND CENTRAL ASIA

I.—TIBET

It is seldom that an amateur invited to examine specimens of Asiatic art finds himself attracted towards a Lamaist bronze or painting. For the best Tibetan inspirations seem to be representations of demons, and paintings offering strong colour contrast; and Tibet, amid the throng of lands which are indebted to ancient Indian art, appears only in the inglorious rôle of poor relation.

It would, however, be unfair to submit Tibetan art to certain comparisons that are sometimes made to her disadvantage. Śrīvijaya (Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Central Java) and the Khmer Empire inherited the great Indian tradition, and utilised it magnificently; as is shown by the monuments at Borobudur, at Angkor, and Banteai-Chmar. But this was only rendered possible by the immigrations which created in the very hearts of these countries real centres of Indian civilisation and culture, and this at an epoch when the India which fostered them was covering her soil with temples and sanctuaries, and at an epoch when Buddhism, at the zenith of its artistic development, was eliminating those

foreign influences (Greek or Iranian) which had been admitted during its active propaganda, and was getting back to the traditions of the old Indian school. An excellent expression of this reaction is found in the works of the Gupta artists of Benares.

But at that time the missionary work of Buddhism stopped short at the barrier of the Himalayas, and Tibet remained, to quote the apt phrase of M. Foucher, an eddy between two currents. In the seventh century an effort was made which brought about the conversion of *bcān-po* *Sroṅ-bcān-sgam-po*, and his marriage with two Buddhist princesses, one from Nepal, and the other from China, both of high birth, the daughter of a king, and the relation of an emperor. But the new religion had to struggle against the champions of the prevailing one, the cult of the *Bon-pos*, and made but little progress during the reign of *Sroṅ-bcān-sgam-po*.

The magician *Padmasambhava*, who was summoned by the successor of *Sroṅ-bcān-sgam-po*, triumphed over the fierce opposition stirred up by the partisans of the old cult. Buddhist learning with its scholars, expert in doctrinal controversy, did not fight with equal weapons against the *Bon-po* sorcerers; for sorcery could not be overcome save by superior sorcery. *Padmasambhava*, moreover, was really more concerned with the success of his undertakings than enamoured of Buddhist orthodoxy. He was born in *Uḍḍiyāna*, the modern *Kafiristan*, the home of magicians, and he seems to have adopted a somewhat vague system, compounded of Buddhist, Christian, and even Muslim beliefs. There is no doubt,

however, that this extraordinary man exerted a great influence on the fortunes of Buddhism in Tibet. The story of his life, as it has come down to us, has unfortunately suffered from a series of misrepresentations, due mainly to the action of the orthodox church, which, as it could not ignore altogether the first apostle of Tibetan Buddhism, endeavoured, by making clumsy interpolations in the text, to include him in their faith.* There is, therefore, nothing remarkable in finding attributed to Padmasambhava, mounted on the horse Balaha—a form of Avalokiteśvara—a whole series of exploits which ancient authorities, such as the Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra, assign to the only Avalokiteśvara.† The Amitābha Buddha is also introduced into the history, and appears in the second chapter of the “Padma-thaṅ-yig,” as this legendary biography is called, in the quintuple form of a Buddha “spontaneously born.” It seems thus clear that the purpose of these interpolations was to establish a kind of identity between Amitābha and Padmasambhava, the latter being regarded as a variation of the metaphysical Buddha.

This eventual elevation of Padmasambhava should not shut our eyes to his real history. Like the legendary king Indrabhūti, the yoginī Laksmī(m)kara, the mahāsiddha Kambhala,‡ he belongs to that Tantric school of Udyāna, of Iranian origin, which, by its slow

* A. Grünwedel, “Padmasambhava und verwandtes” (Baessler Archiv., Band III., heft 1, 5).

† A. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 28, du Tiré à part.

‡ A. Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

and stealthy absorption of Buddhism, paved the way for the astonishing revival of Śaivism. The scene of Padmasambhava's activities is the vicinity of a burning ground (śmaśāna); and the story represents him as using the food intended for the dead, and covering himself with their shrouds. Elsewhere he appears in the traditional aspect of the mahāsiddha, his loins girt with a tiger's skin, and his shoulders covered with an elephant's skin, and wearing as a sort of pendant a rosary of human heads. In the van Meurs' collection is a painting representing him under this aspect; his contorted features express anger, and on his forehead is a crown of skulls. The languid pose contrasts with the angry expression of his features. His hands grasp the trident and the cord. The suppleness of the design is expressed in harmonious line, the silhouette stands out strongly in a halo of dull gold rays, crossed by the curving fold of a long scarf. The suppleness and the grace are Indian, and exhibit what is best in this Lamaist art, which from its nature was given to making an excessive use of tracing, with the result of weakening, and even deforming, the Indian prototype. The corners of the composition are filled with four representations in miniature of Padmasambhava. In the left upper portion the saint is converting some naked heretics; on the right he shows himself in his terrible aspect, clad in the tiger skin and holding the trident. The three other representations show him fully clothed and wearing the head-dress with upturned brim. On the left lower side he is overcoming the evil genii by means of his magic



FIG. 1.—PADMASAMBHAVA. (Van Meurs Collection.)

dagger (*phur-bu*), and next he is receiving the homage of three figures kneeling before him. On the right he is welcoming the envoys of the King of Tibet, Khri-sron-lde-bcan, who are inviting him in the name of their master to visit Tibet. Below the central figure, in a circle round a table of offerings loaded with flowers, ritual objects, vases, and human skulls, are five dancers flourishing the tambour, formed of two skull head-pieces fastened together. In spite of the deterioration due to tracing, these types are plainly influenced by Indian models, and although the high mountains, with their sinuous contours outlined in gold, are suggestive rather of Chinese landscapes, the central personage and the subordinate figures are clearly akin to the Indian tradition.

Although Padmasambhava cannot be considered responsible for introducing into Tibet an iconography which is manifestly Tantric, it may at least be said that he created an atmosphere favourable to it. The representations of mahāsiddhas and dākinīs, by their very look, strike us as being far more allied to India than are the laboured compositions which depict the life of the Buddha. This same Padmasambhava appears to have exercised an important influence on the Bon-po.* Some of the details in the story of his life, particularly the episode which describes his victory over the evil

* Sarat Chandra Das, "A Brief Sketch of the Bon Religion of Tibet" (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, I., 1893). J. Hackin, "Guide Catalogue des collections bouddhiques du Musée Guimet," pp. 117-118.

genii of Tibet who violently opposed the founding of the convent of Bsam-yas, are to be met with, in identical terms, in the story of the great prophet Bon-po, Gsén rabs-mi-bo. That feat is, moreover, reproduced on a painting belonging to the d'Ollone Collection—in which, too, there unquestionably appears the Indian influence, despite its perversion by the clumsiness of the Bon-po.

I need only remind you, with Mr. Grünwedel, of the fact that Samantabhadra, who, in the history of Padmasambhava, is regarded as the supreme Buddha, is considered by the Bon-po as their chief god. It is again the influence of India that we find in the pictures of mahāsiddhas in the Bacot Collection; they are curious figures, for which the model may well have been Padmasambhava. Their favourite sphere of activity was also the background appropriate to burning grounds, which are strewn with dead bodies and are the chosen resort of ghouls and lost souls.*

Although these representations are far removed from an Ajaṇṭā picture, owing to their distortion by the excessive use of tracing, a practised eye can, without much difficulty, and simply by examining the outlines, recover the delicate curve of the Indian model; and whether it be the yoginī Manibhadra, floating gracefully in a cloud-flecked sky, or the King of Camparna, Kokili, in his rich jewels, the Indian inspiration is easily recognisable.

* Ch. IV. du *Padma-than-yig*, traduction de M. G. Ch. Toussaint. *Journal Asiatique*, 1924.



FIG. II.—GILT BRONZE: PADMASAMBHAVA.
(Musée Guimet: Bacot Collection.)

It may seem strange that the reformers of the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, Atīśa and bTsoñ-kha-pa, should have left an honourable place in the Buddhist Tibetan pantheon for these representations, which a pious Ceylon Buddhist would regard only with feelings of profound horror. But there existed reasons of expediency, more powerful because more human than all the categorical imperatives of the most intransigent orthodoxy, which strengthened the cult of the great sorcerers (mahāsiddha) to such an extent that bTsoñ-kha-pa, the great reformer of the fourteenth century, is sometimes represented in the guise of a frequenter of burning grounds, bearing the skull and brandishing the sword.* These concessions to popular taste once admitted, the zeal of the reformers found useful scope.

He was a man of great learning and also a great traveller. He had indeed made a stay at Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) in order to complete his religious education by contact with the purified teaching of the Sarvāstivādins. Atīśa "revived the practice of the pure Mahāyāna doctrine by showing the right way to the ignorant and misguided Lamas of Tibet of its foreign and heretic elements which had completely tarnished it, and restored it to its former purity and splendour."†

We have seen that reasons of mere expediency had

* Iconographic documents of the Musée Guimet represent Samantabhadra with his Śakti, in the guise of a supreme Buddha of whom the other Buddhas are merely emanations. This painting corresponds to the system of Padmasambhava.

† Sarat Chandra Das, "Life of Atīśa" (Dīpaṃkara Śrī jñāna), J.A.S.B., vol. LX., 1891, pp. 46-53).

militated in favour of the preservation in Lamaist orthodoxy of the ultra-Tantric representations of mahāsiddhas. To make up for this concession, there appeared the introduction of a series of scenes illustrating the life of the Buddha. The Bacot Collection has a large number of them, of which some have been published by Mr. Grünwedel. The influence of Atīśa was undoubtedly exercised in the direction of an ever larger diffusion of these images, free from any Tantric contamination. The best known series, moreover, appears to us too closely allied with the medieval art of Bihār not to have originated, at any rate as far as these specimens are concerned, from the artists patronised by the pious Pāla kings, who were zealous propagators of Buddhism. The opulent lines of Queen Māyā (the scene of the nativity), the somewhat languid grace of the young Bodhisattva (the life of pleasure in the women's apartments) show, in the treatment of details of the dress and of the bodies, the influences from Magadha which were introduced by Atīśa. It was therefore the last aspects of Indian Buddhist art which served as the principal source of inspiration for Buddhist Tibetan iconography—paintings and bronzes sharing the same characteristics; arrangement or progressive lessening of the drappings, multiplication of the jewels, diadems richly worked in gold, heavy pendants to the ear-rings, and sumptuous necklaces. The slenderness of the figure is accentuated to display the curve of the hips. A pleasing and choice example of this is the Padmapāni in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston,



FIG. III.—THE LIFE OF PLEASURE IN THE WOMEN'S QUARTERS,
(Musée Guimet : Bacot Collection.)

reproduced by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy,* which is very closely allied to the Tibetan Bodhisattvas.†

Other paintings, which are very complete illustrations of a text that must have served as the basis for the biography of the Buddha partly translated and partly analysed by Schiefner,‡ show technical imperfections which are incompatible with the employment of an Indian model. The traditional details of the dress as regards the Buddha, the Bhikṣus, and the Brahmins, are the same, but as a whole the composition differs in a marked degree from the groupings, so full of ease, in the biographical episodes which have just been examined.

This life of the Buddha by Schiefner appears to have been illustrated throughout by a Tibetan Lama of the

* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, "A Portfolio of Indian Art; Objects selected from the Collection of the Museum," with a descriptive text by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (New York, 1923), Plate XXIV.

† The following is the description of this object by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy: 22-381-Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara); seated at ease (*lalitāsana*) on a lotus throne, supported by a branching stem, the pendant foot resting on a smaller lotus. The left hand carries an open lotus (*padma*), the elbow and parts of forearm are missing; the right forearm and hand are also missing. The Bodhisattva has the hair dressed high in ascetic fashion (*jaṭāmukuta*), some locks falling on the shoulders; he wears a figured muslin *dhōti* and scarf tiara (*uṣṇiṣabhūṣaṇa*), necklace, jewelled sacred thread (*yajñopavita*) armlets, girdle with pendant ropes of pearls, and anklets. The base of the pedestal resembles an architectural pediment.

Black slate: Bihār or Bengal. Late Pāla or Sena period. Twelfth century.

Height 1.52. George Bruce Upton Fund.

‡ A. Schiefner, "Ein Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Čäkymunis des Begründers des Buddhathums" (St. Petersburg, 1849).

eighteenth century. One need only glance at the background of the incidents to feel the Chinese influence; the treatment of the rocks, which here and there break the monotony of large green spaces, recalls the compositions so dear to the Chinese landscape painters from the time of the masters of the Song dynasties, Yuan, Tchao, Po-Kiu, Tchao Meng-fou, down to their feeble imitators of the end of the Ming dynasties, K'ieou Ying and Wen Tcheng-ming. Lamaism, moreover, sought the support of the Chinese sovereigns; it was protected by the Mongols, the first Ming emperors, and it continued in favour with the Manchu usurpers, who honoured the great Lama of Peking with a series of commissions. The closing years of the eighteenth century were marked by an extraordinary spread of Lamaist iconography. To the elegant representations of the end of the seventeenth century, patiently executed in the monasteries by gifted miniaturists, there succeeded thick-set, grinning figures, stereotyped and without art, rendered ugly by the haste that characterises mass production for gain. It is, to a large extent, the examination of these degenerate examples which has caused European critics to pass unfavourable judgment on Lamaist paintings; but it must be agreed that there is a great gulf between the elegant examples of mahāsiddhas in the Bacot Collection and the horrible image of Srī-devī made in 1778 to the order of the Emperor K'ien-Long, under the direction of the Grand Lama of Peking.

In fact, the paintings that were done in Tibet up to



FIG. IV.—MAHĀSIDDHAS.
(Musée Guimet: Bacot Collection.)



FIG. V.—TĀRĀ. (Musée Guimet.)



FIG. VI.—KHRI-SRON-LDE-BCAN. (Pfister Collection.)

the beginning of the eighteenth century retain a semblance of Indian grace and preciousness, but Chinese miniature work embroiders on the robes of the Bodhisattvas and saints the incomparable richness of its floral decoration and the boundless picturesqueness of its mythical fauna. It is the technique of the cleverest and most patient painters in miniature that survives in works such as those which Mr. Pfister has just acquired, which are indeed rarities of iconography, since they represent the legendary King Gñah-khri bcan-po and the protector of Padmasambhava, bcan-po khri-sron-lde bcan.

II.—CENTRAL ASIA

In Tibet the Indian and Chinese influences are to be found working side by side far more than blending together. This remark applies also to Turkestan. "The basin of Tarim appears to us in the light of an Indo-Chinese continent," as Mr. Foucher judiciously observes,* and in development of this idea the great archæological scholar adds: "the history of Buddhist Art in Central Asia divides into two great periods, just as its area of diffusion divides into two great zones, one dominated by Indo-European, the other by Sino-Mongol culture." This synthetic statement is perfectly accurate. From the second to the tenth century of our era, from Khotan to Tun-Hwang, India made her influence felt. Detailed researches into the part

* A. Foucher, "L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara," Tom. II., 2, p. 645.

played by India in the development of Buddhist art in Turkestan would be beyond the scope of the present summary. I will confine myself to examining here some specimens which are of special significance and which are scattered over the different archæological sites of Central Asia.

The connection between Turkestan and India in Greco-Buddhist art is very closely established, thanks to the fortunate results of the excavations made on the site of the ruined city of Taxila (Takṣaśilā) by the eminent Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, Sir John Marshall.* These excavations have yielded a mass of remains of the highest documentary value, showing connecting links between the Gandhāra sculptures of the first and second century A.D. and the image-makers of Turkestan (seventh century, Tumshuq and Yōtkān). Although the works of art discovered at Taxila continue, to a large extent, to be allied with the Gandhāra style—that is to say, imbued with Hellenising influences—the statuettes of kañjur or of stucco representing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas reveal the gradual working of an “Indian revival.” The treatment of the torso emphasizes the very distinct influence of the Gupta style. This remark applies also to the fragments discovered at Khotan by Sir Aurel Stein,† at Tumshuq

* Sir John Marshall, “Excavations at Taxila” (A. S. of India, Annual Report, 1915-1916). A. Foucher, “The Decoration of the Stuccoed Stupas” (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 7, Calcutta, 1921).

† Aurel Stein, “Ancient Khotan,” II., Plate II.

by Mr. Paul Pelliot, at Schorshuq by Mr. A. Von Le Coq,* where the return to Indian influence is still more distinctly confirmed.

A fresco of Dandan Uiliq (eighth century) bears testimony to this definite conversion to a strictly Indian ideal. Although the pose of this feminine form evokes comparison with some examples of classic sculpture—some would compare it with the Venus de Medicis—the style remains absolutely Indian. Any hesitation is removed when one considers the line of the arm, and still more that of the hands, with their long flexible fingers,† the details of the jewels, etc. Moreover, the body exhibits the “three inclinations,” of neck, waist, and feet, showing the “tri-bhanga,” which brings us back directly to the Ajantā version. Mr. Wachsberger,‡ who has given a very minute description of this specimen, very fitly compares it with a high relief from a temple in Orissa, a work which has been already reproduced by Mr. Havell.§ This delicate figure from the treasure cave of Qyzil is faithful to the three inclinations; swaying and sensuous, infinitely more so than the woman bathing of the Dandan Uiliq fresco, she dances before a royal personage, the right arm rounded with

* A. Von Le Coq, “Die buddhistische spätantike in Mittel Asien, erster Teil.” Die Plastik (Ergebnisse des Kgl. Preussischen Turfanexpeditionen), Berlin, 1922, Tafel XXXIX.

† Samarendranath Gupta, “Les mains dans les fresques d’Ajanta,” traduction Andrée Karpelès, Paris, éditions Bossard.

‡ A. Wachsberger, “Stilkritische Studien zur Kunst chinesisch Turkestans,” *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, IV., p. 13.

§ “Ideals of Indian Art,” Plate XII.

delicately modulated lines is slightly bent, thus emphasizing in a high degree the supple, almost acrobatic impression which this dance scene offers. Champa and Java (Borobudur) offer similar examples, deriving, it need hardly be added, from the same Indian source.

The very interesting comparisons made by Mr. Wachsberger deal also with a fresco fragment discovered in the grottos of Sängim, and reproduced by Mr. A. Von Le Coq.* One naturally compares this with the famous "couple of lovers" of Ajantā, without there being absolute identity of the types and poses. The faces of the two figures of Sängim have a chubby appearance which precludes, at any rate as regards this detail, any comparison with the Ajantā couple. It would be better, in my opinion, at any rate, to compare the Sängim group with the representations of Śiva-Pārvatī which occur so often in the art of Bihār; the poses are closely comparable. The Kinnaras (birds with human heads) which appear in the upper part of the Sängim fresco recall to memory the Javanese illustration of Kinnara Jātaka.† In this same Sängim grotto there are types of mahāsiddhas and Buddhas which are entirely Indian in character; and if by chance we come across specimens that are purely Nepalese—as is the case with one find made by Sir Aurel Stein‡ at Tun-Hwang,

* A. Von Le Coq, "Chotscho, Tafel, 15c, 14.

† À Boro-Budour ces "phénomènes humains"—l'expression est de M. Foucher—gardent jusqu'au torse, l'apparence humaine. V. A. Foucher, "Notes d'archéologie bouddhique," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient*, IX., p. 34.

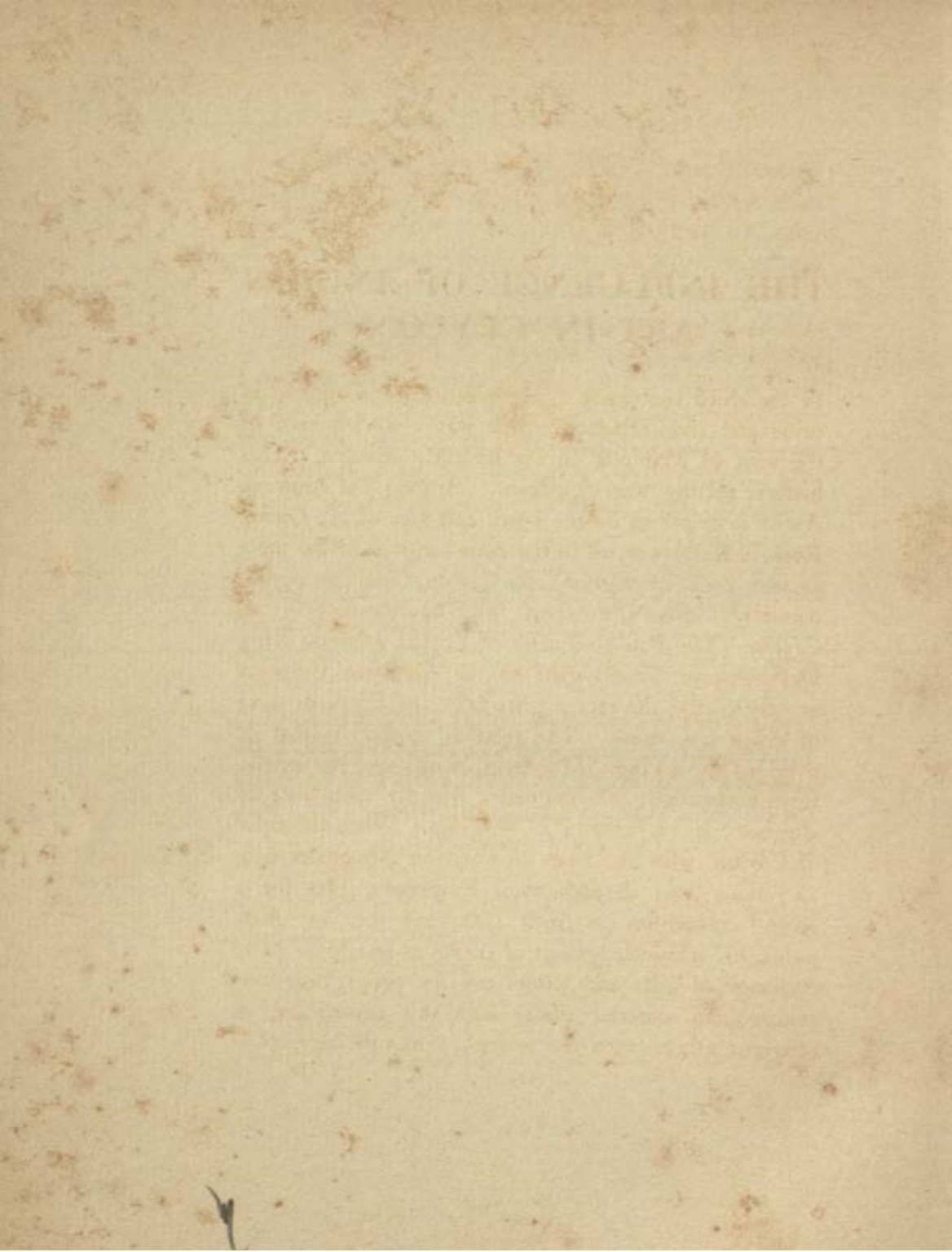
‡ "Serindia," Plate LXXXVI.

Bodhisattvas in a hieratic attitude of stiffness, sumptuously bejewelled, and clothed in the multi-coloured dhōtī—then these finds bring us back at once to Indian influence, since it is always the Magadha tradition that reappears on the Qyzil fresco (Grotto of Māyā), where there are found depicted on the canvas held by the Brahmin Varśakāra, the four great Miracles of the Master.* The strongly cursive treatment shows clearly the Indian origin of the composition. The type of Queen Māyā belongs to the iconographic storehouse of medieval India—Māyā, the worldly beauty with the transparent veils, sister of the winged dancer of the treasure cave.

At Tun-Hwang the influence of China slowly eliminates the Indian contribution. Here and there we again come across, among the heavy and Chinese-influenced types, the spiritual grace and delicacy of India; witness the Samantabhadra discovered by Mr. Pelliot—Chinese already by the inscription which invokes the reverence of the faithful, but ever Indian in the delicacy of the gesture, the suppleness of the limbs, and the serene beauty of the youthful face.

JOSEPH HACKIN.

* "Alt Kutscha," Tafel XLII., XLIII.



THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN ART IN CEYLON

IN the third century B.C. the creation of sculpture in stone and architecture in stone was a consequence of the visit of Mahinda on his Buddhist mission. This historic setting was significant. Among the fourteen Asoka inscriptions on the north-east face of the Girnar Rock in Kathiawar, all in the same script as of the most ancient rock inscriptions in Ceylon, one inscription mentions Asoka's missions to "Tambapanni"—i.e., Ceylon. The Pali chronicles of Ceylon mention King Devanampiya Tissa's gifts to the Mauryan Emperor as very costly; the return gifts from the Emperor were of much less value. The relation implied is that of overlord and a king. Moreover, Asoka sent the articles for a coronation; this implied a friendly acceptance of allegiance and a bestowal of kingship. When the ruler of Ceylon, who had been crowned on November 6th, 247 B.C., used the Mauryan Emperor's gifts for a second coronation on April 16th, 246 B.C., he made public his acknowledgment of Asoka as overlord. The exchange of gifts and letters and the propaganda culminated, in material affairs with this coronation, in religious affairs with the arrival, a month later, of a

Buddhist mission led by the royal Prince Mahinda. Need we wonder at the rapidity of the conversions and the Asokan character of the earlier Buddhist structures?

The dagobas were modelled on the dagoba at Sanchi, near Vidisā, whose princess Asoka espoused when he was Viceroy of Ujjain. This princess was Mahinda's mother, and Mahinda visited her just before he left India for Ceylon.

The Sanchi influence was strong when the Thuparama was erected—the first of its kind in Ceylon. Even the Ambasthala Dagoba on the top of Mihintale Hill, which commemorates Mahinda's death, was of the same type, and the so-called Lankarama built by the Tissa, who succeeded Duṭugemunu in 101 B.C., was similar to Sanchi.

The stone monasteries, caves, "palaces," and carven stone figures of the early period in Ceylon present in common certain features due to the influence of early Indian Buddhist art, and in many respects more worthy of admiration than the later monuments of antiquity. The characteristics were: (a) The gigantism of figures, flights of steps, columns, thresholds, and plinths; (b) the monolithic character of most; (c) the precision of outline, accuracy of surfaces, and finished execution in hard syenite, limestone, and granite; (d) the avoidance of florid scrolls, whorls, and excessive details.

The beauty of these massive rock sculptures lies in their proportions, wonderful accuracy of surfaces and contours, and dignity of plain space. They merit the tribute, uttered before the Asoka edict-pillar of stone



THUPARAMA DAGOBA (RESTORED) AND THE ORIGINAL
PILLARS. SECOND CENTURY B.C.

at Lauriya Mandagarh, to "the chiselling of the extraordinary delicacy and precision of the Mauryan dynasty, never surpassed in Athens or Rome." The artisans and tools were probably brought over from India at first; there are villages in Ceylon which claim descent from such "stone-carpenters," an appellation which reminds one that design and plan of much of the stone structures are a copy of wooden structures. It was Asoka who introduced stone sculpture into India, it was his son Mahinda who brought to Ceylon Asoka's religion, dagobas, and stone sculpture; we can assume that skilled workmen from India were as gladly welcomed. Their skill in carving and decorative building must have been great and renowned, for even in the days of wooden palaces, Megasthenes, envoy at the Court of Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta, declared that "his palaces surpassed those at Susa and Ectabana."

The great impact of early Indian Buddhist art upon Ceylon produced enduring effects; there was not only a creation of stone sculpture and stone architecture, but maintenance of progress was constant. It would be difficult to understand some of the Ceylon developments without knowledge of the changes in India during the post-Asokan eras, in the Sunga and Andhra less notably than in the Gupta era.

In the matter of details, such as the history of the Bo-tree branch, scenes of Buddhist worship, Maya, and other incidents, there is much similarity between the Ceylon and Indian rock carvings. There was much frequent friendly intercourse, both trade and pilgrimage,

between Magadha and Lanka, Aryan North-East India, and Aryan Ceylon, Buddhist India and Buddhist Ceylon, an interchange of ideas as well as of goods.

The most notable effect of this Indian influence was the Ceylon response to the remarkable efflorescence of literature, painting, and sculpture of the Gupta Empire. The Gupta imperial impulse was as strong and as enduring in its effects as the Asokan imperial impulse; the principal additions to Ceylon art were fresco painting, Mahayana images, and a change in the stone sculpture. The later centuries saw Buddhism in Magadha re-absorbed into Hinduism, its Tantric development led the way; it was at this early period of change Mahayana instead of Himayana, and Ceylon could not have been purely Himayana, since we have disinterred small bronze Mahayana Buddhas; a record in the Mahavansa mentions importation of an image of Maitreya Buddha by King Dhatusena (A.D. 461-479), and we find at Weligama, in Southern Ceylon, a stone image of Maitreya Buddha, Padmapani (the lotus-bearer), or Avalokitesvara (the God who looks down from on high) in the Tantric form Simhamāda Lokeshvara, "the god who cures leprosy," whose popularity made Buddhism spread rapidly in Tibet.

The fresco paintings in Ceylon are all "Gupta" in date, and in character; except for the absence of green in the Sigiriya rock-pocket Apsaras and Gandharvas, the similarity is remarkable in various locations.

The change in the Ceylon stone sculpture was similar to the change in India. The rails and beams of the



BALUSTRADES, GUARD-FIGURES AND STEPS. GUPTA
PERIOD, FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

stone Buddhist rail are carved, the rosettes at the intersections are more ornate, balustrades have more fine carving on them, figures are embellished with more floriation, and there is a distinct movement away from the austere simplicity of the Asokan stone; one may epitomize it briefly as a change from the accurate straight line to the flowing curve. The Gupta influence from India was a great impetus towards new paths. Nor did it die away soon. Its precursor, the Asokan imperial impulse, still lived, and assimilation of it had been so deep and sincere that examples of Asokan art were never lacking up to the early part of the thirteenth century. The Gupta imperial impetus, too, was not spent for centuries; it, too, was assimilated, and the Ceylon art in fresco painting and stone showed vigorous life. There seems to have been guilds or bodies of craftsmen ready and competent to execute any new scheme of king or monk; abundance of extant ruins show that for centuries there was rich production of architecture and sculpture in stone.

The close commercial and religious intercourse with India was that of North-East Buddhist India with Buddhist Ceylon, of Aryan with Aryan. This friendly interchange of visits and ideas was interrupted by racial and religious changes in India and in Ceylon. India saw the Afghan invasion settled into a paramount power, and the Buddhism, which had become Tantric, now reabsorbed into Hinduism, and hence the mother country in race and in religion was no longer the magnet for visits from Lanka. In Lanka itself two

greater changes occurred—one, negative, the retreat of the Sinhalese to the wild mountain region, whilst the Tamils occupied the north and east and north-west ports of the island, thus cutting off trade with North-East India. The positive change was the Dravidian predominance, even in the Sinhalese Court and camp. Sivite shrines were allowed in the capital towns; trade with Dravidian India alternated with war against Dravidians, and the whole relation to India was inverted; cut off from Aryan India and in intimate relation with Dravidian India, the Ceylon arts and crafts were influenced in pattern, execution, and style; hence the necessity for a period designation—"Medieval Sinhalese Art"—mainly Dravidian, slowly acclimatized, but non-progressive ever since the interruption by the West early in the sixteenth century.

In recent years Indian influence has again been active in only one direction; a search for nationalism and a desire to conserve or even to revive arts and crafts have been instrumental in study and research as to what was Ceylon's art in the past eras. From the Asokan, Gupta, and some lesser Indian stimuli, there was growing up a mass of assimilated practice, coherent tradition with living growth; changes were as branches from a trunk. After the thirteenth century A.D. there was introduced the Dravidian system of art, and in all branches it was paramount; but the older and plainer Aryan art was blending into the new, and about the period of the coming of the Portuguese something distinguishably Ceylonese was the current art. Whether the extrava-

gant overloading with details, the fussiness, and the *rococo* exaggeration of floriated ornament would have been cured by some reaction toward the simpler beauty of the antique is only matter for conjecture. The medieval Sinhalese art, with all its defects, was the only living art found during recent research; no trace of the ancient Sinhalese art was found in current practice.

The influence of Indian art in Ceylon has been in the past the paramount influence of great imperial or racial impulses. The present quest in Ceylon will seek to profit by India's example in the present day and to avoid her errors.

ANDREAS NELL.

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